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A Documentary History of American Industrial Society

Volume IX

FOUNDERS OF INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL ASSEMBLY OF NORTH AMERICA, 1864

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A Documentary History of American Industrial Society

Edited by John R. Commons
Ulrich B. Phillips, Eugene A. Gilmore
Helen L. Sumner, and John B. Andrews

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With preface by Richard T. Ely
and introduction by John B. Clark

Volume IX

Labor Movement

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INTRODUCTION TO VOLUMES IX AND X

When Sartorius von Waltershausen, in 1886, published his book on American labor organizations,[1] he was impressed by the unmitigated struggle over the distribution of wealth. A nation without a military class, without a bureaucracy, without an educated professional class, without a leisured class on fixed incomes, appeared to him incapable of disinterested judgment or conciliatory influence in the war of mere money-getting. But von Waltershausen happened to look in upon us at just that particular time when the tidal wave of the Civil War was receding from the fields of industry, and the work of economic and social reconstruction had only begun again where it had been abandoned thirty years before. Certainly the observant American of to-day, whose span of life permits his memory to recall the events of the sixties, is not disturbed by the assertions of an increasing class struggle; for he remembers the time when the economic struggle was bitter and unrelieved by sober public opinion. And, to the speculative reader or historian, who has followed the wave of humanitarianism and social reform through our volumes of the thirties and forties, and has there seen it suddenly disappear in the slavery contest, the question must occur: what might have been the present condition of American democracy if there had been no race issue and its irrepressible conflict? For he could but have observed that,

[1] *Die nordamerikanischen Gewerkschaften unter dem Einfluss der fortschreitenden Productionstechnik* (Berlin, 1886), pp. vii, ff.

notwithstanding the absorption of Americans in the struggle for wealth, there was emerging in the forties a class of idealists and a spirit of social progress more promising even than those of other nations. This idealism was exhausted in the Civil War, and it needed another generation to come upon the scene and to learn anew the social problems which the intervening years had intensified. Truly, it was not the absorption of Americans in money-getting that suppressed their idealism and public spirit, but rather the fulfillment of their idealism through the misfortune of war that left the field to money-getting. The present generation has seen the rebirth of this spirit of progress. But the decades of the sixties and seventies saw an upstart plutocracy and a frenzied democracy. Where now is serious effort to understand and obviate their conflict, there was then astute aggravation of it.

If we inquire into the industrial conditions underlying this clash of interests, we may characterize the period of 1860 to 1880 as preëminently the middleman-period. The merchant-capitalist, who dominated industry after the decade of the thirties, now becomes, more accurately speaking, the merchant-jobber.[2] The latter, unlike his predecessor, does not own the raw material nor the "manufactory," and does not employ "contractors" to work up the material; but he buys the "finished product" from the scattered manufacturers, farmers, and other producers, and sells it again to manufacturers, wholesalers, and retailers. The immediate cause of this development is the enormous extension of the market through the railway and the correspondingly wide separation of producers. These producers are as

[2] See "Industrial Stages," vol. iii, 18, 29, 51, 54. The "sixth" stage is there designated as merchant-capitalist, but the term "merchant-jobber," as here defined, describes more nearly the situation.

yet without capital, and without the credit to command capital. They are unable even adequately to equip their farms and factories, much less to command the commercial capital needed to market their products. Even the railroads are subject to the middlemen. Poorly equipped local lines, springing up by the aid of local capital and subsidies, sufficient though they were to distribute producers over the free lands of the west, were not sufficient to afford the through shipments thereby required. Consequently the railroad industry itself became a field for exploitation by middlemen; and there arose a multitude of companies purchasing transportation at wholesale from disconnected railway companies and selling it at retail to the unorganized producers. Thus arose the through-freight lines, the tank-car lines, the express companies, the elevator and warehouse companies – these necessary jobbers of transportation when railroads were in their infancy, but surviving to-day as giant parasites when railroads are consolidated.

Thus the merchant-jobber, marketing both farm and factory products and railroad services, performed a needful work at this stage of the markets. But his power was accidentally enhanced by the contingencies of war. Through army contracts and practical politics large numbers were enriched, and still larger numbers through the rise of prices that followed the greenback.

With the growth of the middleman-jobber appeared a new kind of capital – "intangible" capital, based on market opportunities and access to customers. In the retail-shop stage there had emerged the modest beginning of "good-will." But in that stage good-will, both in law and in fact, was identical with situation. It was merely the probability that customers would resort to the old stand. But with the incoming of wholesale

merchants, good-will, in all its varieties of business connections, separated itself from the shop and attached itself to the trade-name. The merchant-capitalist, who had established his reputation and his connections with retailers, producers, and contractors, had an intangible asset of good-will worth more perhaps to him than the value of all his tangible property. When to this was added the reputation of a line of goods, and courts and legislatures gave protection to trade-marks, then intangible capital reached its perfect fruit. The railroads, too, and their peculiar middlemen were typical forms of the new era when the value of physical things was yielding to the value of market control. In this predicament the actual manufacturer or producer, with his tangible capital of farm or factory, was compelled to reach a market through the jobber's intangible capital of trade connections. Most of all, this intangible capital was the effective security for banking and loan credits, through which the merchant could command the products of labor and physical capital. Thus it was that the fundamental question for farmers and wage-laborers in the period following the Civil War was the control of capital and credit by middlemen; and the remedies sought were designed to give control of both to these producers of tangible products.

The immediate cause of the organization of wage-labor was the rise of prices and cost of living, which began with the disappearance of gold and the appearance of greenbacks in 1862. There was in that and in the preceding years practically no organization of labor in the United States. Four national unions had a nominal existence, but the panic and depression of 1857 had nearly eliminated the local unions that existed before. The effect of paper currency was first seriously noticed

toward the end of 1862; but the great stimulus to business and the enlistment of wage-earners in the army had brought about such an increase of employment that the need of organization was not felt. The situation was different in 1863, and the failure of wages to rise with prices provoked the sporadic organization of local unions.

The rise and fall of a labor movement is marked by the rise and fall of the labor press. Indicated by this measure, June, 1863, was the beginning of conscious organization, for at that date Jonathan C. Fincher began the publication of his *Trades' Review* at Philadelphia. This was truly a national organ, and within two years it had a circulation in all industrial centers, and disappeared only as a multitude of special or local organs displaced it.

Soon these local unions came together in city central bodies or "trades' assemblies," the new name for the "trades' unions" of the thirties.* The first one was organized at Rochester, N.Y., in March, 1863, and thirty of them were organized before the end of 1865. Their object was almost solely that which at the present day would be known as the boycott, although occasionally they made appeals for financial help for striking unions.

Finally in September, 1864, when the membership of the unions was estimated at two hundred thousand, the trades' assemblies endeavored to form a national, or rather the International, Industrial Assembly of North America. The uppermost questions in this first national gathering were strikes, the store-order or truck system of paying wages, coöperation, prison labor, and woman's work. The subject of hours of labor, which held the leading place two years later, was suggested but

* See volume v, p. 21.

the subject of government loans in legal-tender currency, which held the leading place three years later, was not mentioned in the resolutions of this convention of 1864. Indeed, it was not until the end of the war and the return of the soldiers to seek employment that reduction of hours became the leading issue; and it was not until the contraction of the currency and the fall of prices that government loans and the greenback displaced other issues.

HOURS OF LABOR

Meanwhile, in Boston, a machinist and wage-earner, Ira Steward, had begun to formulate what may be called the first philosophy springing from the American Labor Movement. The importance of Steward's contribution, in giving shape and justification to American labor's most characteristic demand, can not be overestimated and has not been fully recognized. The significance of his contribution can only be comprehended by contrasting his with other theories of wages, and by placing the short-hour movement of the sixties in its historical relation to the movements before and after the sixties.

Steward's doctrine, like that of his greater contemporary, Karl Marx, is explicitly a "class-conscious," or perhaps wage-conscious, doctrine. It is based on the permanency of the wage-system as such. Consequently, both Steward and Marx set themselves unswervingly against all reforms bent on giving to labor the ownership and control of capital, or on strengthening the position of the small property-owner. They were equally opposed to coöperation and to anarchism; to banking reform and to greenbackism; to all alliances with middle-class parties. But, while Karl Marx, logically true to the prevailing theories of the age, saw

only the increasing degradation and misery of labor, and therefore only an ultimate revolution ushering in the commonwealth, Steward saw the increasing elevation of labor and the gradual absorption of capital through the increase of wages at the expense of profits.

Marx started with the wage-fund theory of the dominant political economy. This set the limit of wages at the amount of capital in the hands of employers, and predicated the increase of individual wages only on condition that capital be allowed to accumulate freely and labor be persuaded to multiply moderately. Steward rejected this theory, and boldly asserted the extreme doctrine that wages do not depend upon the amount of capital and the supply of labor, but upon the habits, customs, and wants of the working classes. This might have been accepted by the classical economists[3] in so far as it held that workingmen with higher wants postpone the age of marriage and reduce the number of children, thereby restricting the increase of the working population. But Steward was impatient of this physiological delay. He saw a more direct and pyschological route from wants to wages, but with a proviso: the competition of low standards of life with high standards of life must be eliminated. This could be brought about by a simple bit of legislation – a general Eight-hour Law for all classes of labor. Such a law would operate in a twofold direction. It would compel the low-standard laborer, who already can barely live on his ten and twelve-hour wages, to demand the same daily wage for eight hours; and it would afford the leisure which alone can improve the habits, broaden the opinions, and multiply the wants of the laborer. Thus a reduction of hours, if

[3] John Stuart Mill is not to be included here, since he recognized both the physiological and the psychological factors.

general, instead of reducing the day's wage, will actually increase it.

This doctrine was nearly as revolutionary as that of Karl Marx. It reversed the theory of the older trade-unionism, which, taking its logic from the wage-fund theory, concluded that the way to increase wages was to restrict the number of laborers and the output of each. But Steward's doctrine was one of increasing consumption and therefore increasing production through increasing machinery. It was a doctrine of optimism and enthusiasm, rather than pessimism and revolution. Its effect on working-class opinion, following the Civil War, was far reaching. Eight-hour Leagues sprang up almost as extensively as trade unions. The National Labor Union in 1866 placed eight hours at the head of its program, deprecating at the same time trade unions and strikes. Within two years several municipal councils, five state legislatures, and the federal government had adopted the eight-hour law. Although Steward failed to secure general legislation in all states, the trade-unions made his doctrine their basic one; and today, among American wage-earners, whether organized or unorganized, as distinguished from immigrant wage-earners, Steward's doctrine is the instinctive philosophy. Their willingness to accept reduction of wages along with reduction of hours, has often been justified in the early recovery of the former wages for the reduced hours. Employers accept it and resist a reduction of hours more than an increase of wages, for they feel, as Steward himself said, that resistance to an increase of wages after hours have been reduced "would amount to the folly of a strike by employers themselves against the strongest power in the world, viz., the habits, customs, and opinions of the masses."

Ira Steward was unable to complete the book to which he had devoted the later years of his life, and, prior to his death in 1883, he consigned his notes and manuscript to his friend and disciple, George Gunton, who worked it out with certain variations in his *Wealth and Progress*, published in 1887. Gunton gives Steward credit for the central and original thought.[4] Indeed, Steward's forte was neither the orderly nor the inductive development of a system of thought, but a keen observation of his fellow-mechanics. His mind was focused on their desires, wants, and modes of living, and he gave to these the commanding position of importance.

It is not an accident that the period from 1860 to 1880, with its gigantic upheavals and its diametric contrasts, should have produced the two characteristic but opposite ideas which the American labor movement has contributed to labor philosophy. Ira Steward, the machinist of Boston, in the beginning of the sixties, did

[4] Gunton made the psychological doctrine of wages even more optimistic than Steward had done. Where Steward emphasized the depressing effect on wages of low-standard competitors, Gunton emphasized the elevating effect of high standards. On the other hand, Gunton is more nearly true to history, while Steward is more doctrinaire. Steward would adopt at once a universal eight-hour law with its quasi-compulsory elevation of the standard; but Gunton holds that shortening the hours in advance of increasing the wants would result in idleness and not in useful employment of leisure. Steward, retaining a remnant of the wage-fund theory, conceded that rising wages might ultimately absorb profits and even rent. But this was his concession to the prevailing enthusiasm for coöperation, which he held could not be realized until capital had lost its vitality through deprivation of profits. His really emphatic point, often reiterated, was the immense increase in production that would result from machinery and inventions stimulated by high wages. It was this that Gunton seized upon, holding that profits and rents would increase with wages, leading, not to coöperation, but to the greatest invention of all, the "trust." Steward was indifferent to free trade, free immigration and trade unions, provided the hours of all could be shortened; but Gunton required protection, hinted at restriction of immigration, and proclaimed the agitating influence of trade unions as a means of multiplying wants. See Gunton's *Wealth and Progress* (1886), 88-98, 187-204, 241-251, 266-284; Gunton's *Principles of Social Economics* (1891), 339-342, 353-357, 427-430.

for the subjective facts of wages what Henry George, the printer of San Francisco, at the end of the seventies, did for the objective facts.[5] Each in his way was a thinker of one idea. Steward saw the habits, customs, and opinions of his fellow-workmen; George saw their opportunities for employment. Steward saw the immense productivity of Nature's forces, when controlled by the human mind in the form of capital; George saw the dependence of both capital and labor on access to Nature's resources. Steward saw that wages were determined by the standard of living; George, that the standard of living was determined by wages. Steward saw that the menace to high wages was the competition of the man with the lowest wants; George saw that this menace was the competition of the man with the poorest opportunities. Steward would raise wages by multiplying wants; George, by multiplying opportunities. Steward would require men to quit working long hours in order to acquire more wants than their wages would satisfy; George would require them to quit holding more resources than they could utilize. Steward would have the laborer absorb profit, interest and rent by the pressure of higher wages; George would have the laborer join with the employer and the capitalist to appropriate the landlord's surplus.

The theories of each grew out of the circumstances under which he lived and worked. Steward saw the settled mechanics and laborers of the most highly developed manufacturing center of the east, where capital was abundant, machinery efficient, and culture idolized. George saw the rush of labor to the westernmost frontier, where capital and culture were scarce, and wages rose amazingly with every new gold discovery, but sank

[5] *Progress and Poverty*, first published in 1879.

correspondingly as labor fell back against the excessive land monopoly of California. In his environment of manufacturing wealth, with its possibilities of production, Steward instinctively rejected the wage-fund theory and its treatment of labor as a domesticated commodity, and exalted the personality theory. But George, seeing labor about him the mere plaything of tremendous natural and legal forces, just as sensibly turned for his law of wages to labor's dependence on Nature's resources.

The two theories are not contradictory – they are complementary, just as the action and reaction of man and environment are complementary. Indeed, modern economics, with its "diminishing increments," its "marginal laborer," and its "marginal uses of land," is endeavoring more or less to reconcile them. The common principle of the two theories is their recognition of the equalizing effect of competition, dragging the higher down towards the level of the marginal competitor. In this they differ from the labor theory of Karl Marx, originating in the same period of universal philosophies, but springing from European conditions. With Marx differences in wages were not important, and he reduced all labor to the statistical fallacy of the "average social labor." Consequently it was not the marginal competitor who menaced both employer and employee and pulled both down to his unhappy level, but it was the domination of capital that robbed and exploited all laborers alike. It was on account of this unreal and artificial theory, alien to American experience and thought, that Marxian socialism did not here gain a footing, although zealously propagated after 1870. In this land of abundant natural and created resources a moderate policy of relief against unfair competition, which characterized not only the

theories of Steward and George, but also the practices of trade-unionism and protectionism, needed not to look in despair toward a doctrine of exploitation and revolution.

Nevertheless, there was a field where the eight-hour philosophy and the socialist philosophy might stand together against other theories. This was discovered when, in 1878, the original Boston contingent of Steward and his disciples, McNeill and Gunton, united with F. A. Sorge, the leading Marxian socialist, and J. P. McDonnell, the Fenian member of the International Workingmen's Association, to found the International Labor Union. This is seen in the "Declaration of Principles" of the latter organization.[6] Both agreed on the future permanence of the wage-system, and hence this new International was a protest against alliance with the greenbackism of the small capitalist, or with the cooperationism of the self-sacrificing wage-earner. While Marx asserted the injustice of interest and profit, Steward predicted their innecessity; and consequently Marx's followers could subscribe to Steward's idea that, when wages shall represent the earnings and not the necessities of labor, then profit would "melt out of existence" and coöperation would be "the natural and logical step from wages slavery to free labor." Marx and Steward agreed on the reduction of hours as the first step, though Marx regarded it as a means and Steward as the end.

Ira Steward's philosophy, like that of Karl Marx and that of Henry George, was a product of the wage-conscious period of labor. It was the period when steam transportation had begun its leveling influence throughout the world. Wage-earners, thrown suddenly into competition with each other, awoke to their community

[6] Printed in McNeill's *Labor Movement*, 161.

of economic interest, distinct and separate from their other interests of locality, nationality, race, religion, and language, which hitherto had affiliated them to other classes. In this way Steward's philosophy gave a new turn and marked a new stage in the American movement for reducing the hours of labor. Prior to 1825 the hours were those of agriculture, from "sun to sun," and the wage-earning class of the towns accepted implicitly this farmer's boundary of the working day. But, after the extension of the suffrage in the twenties, a new obligation and a new sense of exclusion from their share in government dawned upon them, and the argument advanced for shorter work was that of leisure for education and citizenship. This citizenship period was succeeded in the forties by the humanitarian period, when the wasteful and anarchic conditions of production and competition called forth those remote and utopian schemes of universal coöperation where capital would cheerfully join in mitigating the harsh conditions of labor. More worldly-wise than the humanitarians, the infant manufacturers now hurried up with protectionism, and realized upon the awakened interest in labor. The trade unions that followed in the fifties, unable to wait on the tardy conversion of capitalism or the paternalism of manufacturers, and rather taking their cue from the wage-fund theory that bolstered capitalism, put forth the argument that shorter hours would make more work and thereby more wages. This wage-fund period of the skilled unions, with its disregard of the unskilled and unorganized, gave way to the class-conscious period of the sixties and seventies, when the common interests of all wage-earning labor as such, regardless of skill, privilege, or power of organization, became the watchword of labor. It was this that inspired Ira Stew-

ard to his remedy of universal legislation with its quasi-compulsory elevation of the standard of living.

But universal philosophies lose their universality in practice. True, at points of least resistance they get themselves enacted, but this partial success is a total failure, viewed as a scheme to elevate an entire class. Where the politician could yield to the labor vote without jeopardizing the capitalists' support, as in municipal and federal employment, or where he could satisfy the child-like faith of labor by a law unconstitutional or unenforcible, there the eight-hour scheme of Steward earned an empty success. But his basic philosophy lived on and became the spirit of a new trade-unionism, which, gradually abandoning the restrictions of the older unionism, has struggled through collective bargaining to share with employers the fruits of invention and machinery.

Imposed upon this trade-agreement period has come, within the past dozen years, what may be called the industrial-hygiene period. Here it is not general legislation favoring an entire economic class, but special legislation based on a classification of industries, occupations, and workers, according to the degree of menace to health through long hours. This principle, finally established by the Supreme Court in 1898, when an eight-hour law for men in mines and smelters was sustained as a reasonable exercise of the police power,[7] furnishes the solid ground, not of a class-conscious demand, but of a scientific regulation according to the varying needs of the general welfare.

Thus it is that the movement for reduced hours of labor, covering the century since industrial labor first separated itself from agriculture, has accumulated the typical arguments of each succeeding period, and today

[7] Holden *v.* Hardy, 169 U.S. 366.

confronts the nation as the most pressing of all demands on behalf of labor. For the arguments of each period retain a special truth. Leisure for education and citizenship is essential when workers are voters. Humanitarianism is more effective, now that it is better guided by knowledge of what is practicable. Trade unions can point to the enormous increase of wealth which permits them to take a larger amount without reducing the amount taken by others. Protectionism makes its final stand on the labor-cost of production. Special legislation proceeds wherever investigation shows that health is menaced. And, finally, the inequality of bargaining power under the menace of low-standard competitors—the residual truth of the class-conscious theory—affords the ultimate support for interfering with the laborers' illusive liberty of contract.

GREENBACKISM

Of all the drastic doctrines and revolutionary movements thrown up by the sixties and seventies the most puzzling and American was greenbackism. What the socialism of Lassalle and Marx was to Germany, the coöperative anarchism of Proudhon to France, the revolutionary anarchism of Bakunin to Spain, Italy, and Russia, what Fenianism was to Ireland, and land nationalization to England, so was greenbackism to America. The originator of greenbackism was Edward Kellogg, a merchant of New York. His book, *Labor and Other Capital*, was practically contemporary with Marx's *Communist Manifesto*, Proudhon's *What is Property?* and also Louis Blanc's *L'organisation du travail*, from which Lassalle borrowed his program. Each of these doctrines was formulated in the forties on the same theory of capital and labor, and each was caught up in the sixties on similar movements. After

1861 several reprints of Kellogg's book were published.[8] Although more fanciful than its European contemporaries, greenbackism was more successful, for it left its permanent contribution to American political economy in the legal-tender paper currency. But greenbackism, as provoked by the conditions of the sixties, was more than currency – it was industrial revolution. In fact, "Greenbackism" passed through two stages, the first, that of the National Labor Union, 1867 to 1872; the second, that of the Greenback Labor Party after 1873. The first was based on a theory of capital, interest, and credit; the second on a theory of money and prices. The two stages are distinguished by a double use of the phrase "value of money." In the first stage this meant the rate of interest on a loan of money representing capital. In the second stage it meant the general level of prices of commodities. In this first stage of its career, the greenback theory was the American counterpart of the radicalism of Europe. In its theory of capital and interest it was socialism and anarchism; in its theory of money and exchange, Proudhon's anarchism; in its scheme of administration it was the socialism of Louis Blanc and Lassalle; only in politics and law was it American.[9] It

[8] The original title in full was "Labor and Other Capital; the Rights of Each Secured and the Wrongs of Both Eradicated. Or, an exposition of the cause why few are wealthy and many poor, and the delineation of a system, which, without infringing the rights of property, will give to labor its just reward. New York, 1849." The reprints after 1861 bore the title, "A new monetary system respecting the rights of Labor and Property." These were edited by Kellogg's daughter, Mary Kellogg Putnam, afterward delegate to the National Labor Congress. A widely circulated popularization and adaptation of Kellogg was published in 1868 by A. Campbell, under the title "The True Greenback, or the way to pay the national debt without taxes, and emancipate labor."

[9] The term "greenbackism" as used in the text indicates the first stage, and differs therefore from the meaning hitherto associated with it. See platform of National Labor Union, 1867; Knox, J. J. *United States Notes* (New York, 1888); Mitchell, W. C. *A History of the Greenbacks* (Chicago, 1902).

took its peculiar American form according to the American stage of industry at the time and the American system of government. Where the merchant-capitalist stage brought forth anarchism in France, Fourierism in America of the forties, and the socialism of Blanc and Lassalle in France and Germany, and where the factory stage suggested Marxian socialism, so the intermediate merchant-jobber stage in America of the sixties produced greenbackism. And, as anarchism, nihilism, and Fenianism in Spain, Italy, Russia, and Ireland were the desperate doctrines of unfranchised peasantry rackrented by landlordism; while the anarchism of Proudhon was the despondent doctrine of mechanics disfranchised by a usurper; while Marxian socialism was an economic philosophy suited to unite wage-earners in a struggle for the suffrage; so greenbackism was a doctrine of universal suffrage of wage-earner and farmer.

The animus of the doctrine was the effort to take away from bankers and middlemen their control over government and credit, and thereby to furnish credit and capital through the aid of government to the producers of physical products. In this respect the program agreed with that of Lassalle, who would have government lend its credit to coöperative associations of working men; but it differed from Lassalle's in that, while he invoked the aid of monarchy and nobility against bankers and capitalists, greenbackism relied upon universal suffrage. It differed also from the scheme of Lassalle, in that it would utilize the government's enormous war debt, instead of its taxing power, as a means of furnishing capital to labor. This was to be done by making the bonds, bearing three per cent interest, convertible into legal-tender currency not bearing interest, and making the currency convertible back into bonds, at the will of the

holder of either. In other words, the greenback currency, instead of being, as it was at the time, an irredeemable promise to pay in specie, would be redeemable in government bonds. On the other hand, if a government bond-holder could secure slightly more than three per cent by lending to a private borrower, he would return his bonds to the government, take out the corresponding amount of greenbacks, and loan it to the producer on his private note or mortgage. This would involve, of course, the possible inflation of legal-tender currency to the amount of the outstanding bonds. But inflation was immaterial, since all prices would be affected alike; and meanwhile the farmers, the working men, and their co-operative establishments would be able to secure capital at slightly more than three per cent instead of the nine or twelve per cent which they were compelled to pay to the banks. Thereby they would be placed on a competing level with the middlemen.

According to the theory underlying this scheme, like the theories of socialism and anarchism, capital was solely the product of labor. It contained no independent power of production and deserved no reward of abstinence. Labor alone – physical, mental, and managerial – was entitled to the whole product. The nominal interest allowed by greenbackism was a compromise based on what labor could afford to pay, not on the justice of the payment.

This labor-cost theory of value, so fundamental in the movements of the sixties, was revolutionary only in the use made of it. It bore the sanction of Adam Smith and Ricardo, and had been confirmed rather than weakened by the effort of Senior to elevate the abstinence of the capitalist to the same dignity as the sacrifice of the laborer. Consequently, when in the sixties, in Europe and

America, the demand of labor for the whole product became the flag of revolt, it fell, not beneath the logic, but beneath the power, of capital.

That which forced the issue of the labor theory was the new importance of capital and credit under the world-wide extension of markets dominated by the merchant-capitalist and the merchant-jobber. On the one side, the political economists were impressed by the scarcity of capital and the imperfection of the credit mechanism for assembling capital in the hands of the most efficient. On the other side, the labor theorists were impressed by the power of capital over producers. Here it was that socialism separated from anarchism and greenbackism. Karl Marx, just as he merged all classes of labor into a definition of "average social labor," merged land, capital, and credit into a definition of capital. Credit was merely a transaction between exploiters, and there were only two classes, the propertied and the unpropertied. But anarchism and greenbackism were doctrines of the small shopkeeper, the master-mechanic, the farmer or the skilled journeyman, working with his own tools, on his own farm, in his own shop or home. To him, his physical capital is not something external and independent, but something personal and organic, like his clothes and his home, his skill, intelligence, and health, or even his wife and children. Such capital is not accumulated for the sake of an independent revenue, but it grows up about him as the essential means, or the natural accompaniment, or the mere opportunity, of earning his living by his own labor. It has, therefore, no value of its own—its value, like the value of health, skill, or intelligence, is realized only as higher wages or larger product of labor. To him the act of adding permanent wealth to his possessions is not

the negative restraint of saving, but the positive act of production. He builds his fences just as he raises his chickens to feed his family, not knowing the refinements of political economy which reveal to him that in the one case he is saving wealth and in the other he is consuming wealth. His production of "capital goods" is only the same bodily and mental exertion as his production of "consumption goods." It does not occur to him that in building his fence he is suffering the pain of abstinence from consumption of what that fence-building labor might have produced. He had to do it anyhow, in order to raise his crops and earn his living. And when he finds afterwards from the census statistics, as the greenbackers did, that his fences and the like have added three per cent a year to the wealth of the country, there is in this to him no subtle virtue of saving, but hard work and extra hours. Then, when the wide extension of the market through the railroad placed his income at the mercy of middlemen and his capital at the mercy of bankers, he could see only the power of non-producing capital over labor and producing capital.

Both anarchism and greenbackism were based on this theory of the small working proprietor. Anarchism would allow to him exclusive "possession" of his fixed capital (including land) and greenbackism would allow exclusive ownership, but each would despoil fixed capital of its value. Their methods of doing this were different, because they differed in their attitude toward government. This required a difference in their mechanism of credit. The anarchist, rejecting government, rejected the enforcement of contracts by law and the fulfillment of contracts by legal tender. He would provide a people's bank, at which each producer would agree to accept the bills of exchange issued by every

other producer. Thus, by voluntary acceptance, the producers would mutually finance each other's commercial credit. In this way anarchism would accomplish its further end of limiting the possession of fixed capital to the quantity which the holder himself could use. The Bakuninists and Fenians might do this by resorting to violence or the boycott, under the euphemism of "public opinion;" but the peaceful anarchists would do it by refusing credit on mortgages, and providing credit only on bills of exchange representing products. Holders of fixed capital could therefore get no credit on capital not used, and consequently the increased competition of users not paying interest or rent would drive the prices of products down to their labor-cost. But greenbackism, relying on government and legal tender, would finance, not the products of the laborer in the process of exchange, but his fixed capital in the process of production. Instead of transitory bills of credit, created for each consignment when it begins and canceled when it ends, it would have a permanent currency, and a mortgage security continuing while the capital itself continued. And consequently, while anarchism would take the earning power out of capital by driving the prices of products down to their labor-cost, greenbackism would take it out by furnishing capital to all producers at the labor-cost of operating the credit mechanism.

This curious doctrine, its fallacy of savings augmented by its fallacy of money, had been offered by Kellogg in a form even more fallacious than that of the Labor Congress. Kellogg would have the government lend its legal-tender notes directly to borrowers on real-estate security, allowing the holders to redeem the notes in government bonds. No limit was therefore placed on the

amount of issues, either of bonds or notes, except the fancied limit self-imposed by borrowers at the point where their investments of the borrowed money would not yield a profit above the legal rate of interest, and this legal rate, as figured by Kellogg at the labor cost of conducting the credit mechanism, was only one per cent. But Kellogg's orgy of hypothecation was sobered somewhat by the National Labor Congress, by limiting the issues to the amount of bonds then outstanding, and by placing the interest at three per cent, according to their revised census of the annual accretions of weath.

Without stopping to analyze further the fallacies of greenbackism, its significance lies in the fact that it captured the principal leaders of the wage-earners in 1867. They had, indeed, prepared the way for it in the session of the National Labor Union of 1866, when they espoused coöperation as the only solution, on the same ground, namely, that "a false, vicious financial system endows capital with powers of increase largely in excess of the development of national wealth by natural productions." But, in the following year, 1867, they concluded that no system of combination or coöperation could secure to labor its natural rights as long as the credit system enabled non-producers to accumulate wealth faster than labor was able to add to the national wealth. Coöperation would follow "as a natural consequence," if producers could secure credit directly from government.

This naïve idea of coöperation and the part played by credit could be entertained only by working men who had not as yet passed over to the wage-consciousness of Ira Steward, Karl Marx, and trade-unionism. To such working men the capital needed for coöperation was not entitled to interest or profit, any more than the personal

capital used by them in their daily work. Coöperation to them was simply a method of helping one another to get access to opportunities or instruments by which the income from labor would be enhanced. Or, if they were not moved by the vision of coöperation, they were moved by the similar vision of becoming small proprietors, master-mechanics or farmers. It is not surprising, therefore, that throughout their discussions "free land and free money" were linked together. To them it was the control of government by middlemen and speculators that deprived the true producers equally of the public lands and the small capital, both of which were productive when labor secured the whole product, and unproductive when used to deprive labor of its product.

But there was another side of the greenback that affected them more directly as wage-earners. This was falling prices, business depression, and unemployment. Not only was the paper currency, at the close of the war, called upon to take the place of the confederate paper in the south, but the Secretary of the Treasury began at once to retire the currency and to contract the volume available. The ensuing drop in prices, the panic and depression, drove the Federal Congress that assembled in December, 1867, to repeal what Congress had authorized in 1866, and to forbid further contraction. It was in the midst of this depression and unemployment that the Labor Congress made its leap from coöperation to greenbackism. And, while the Congress of the United States did not accept the Labor Congress fallacy of money as a loan of capital, it acted upon the theory of money as a measure of value of commodities, and the ensuing period, from 1868 to 1873, of rising prices, increasing employment and active trade union-

ism, witnessed the dissolution and fiasco of the Labor Congress.[10] When, again, after 1873, panic and depression renewed the conditions that followed after 1866, the Labor Congress was revived in the Greenback Labor Party and the second stage of greenbackism as a scheme to regulate prices took the place of its first stage as a scheme to regulate the rate of interest.

In 1870 the National Labor Union determined finally to organize an independent political party. The protest of the trade unions was recognized to the extent that two organizations – a political and an "industrial" – were formed. The political organization nominated in 1872 the first candidate of an American Labor Party for president of the United States, only to find that it had been made the tool of politicians in their struggle to control the ensuing nominations of the great parties. The industrial organization, deserted by the trade unions, held nominally a congress, but really a funeral, the same year. The dissolution of the National Labor Union, occurring actually in 1870, was followed by ten years of conflicting and fruitless attempts toward national organization. The socialists, now furnished with a battle-cry by Karl Marx, set out to enlist the unions in the international revolt. Secret organizations with many kinds of objects began their hidden propaganda. The trade unions endeavored again to bring together their forces as they had done in 1866.

But the time was not yet ripe. Industrial depression was running its course. Trade-union effort required the amalgamation or federation of pre-existing unions. But these unions were non-existent. Consequently the National Industrial Congress of 1873, 1874, and 1875, although assembled at the call of the unions, admitted

[10] See: Hinton, R. T. "Organization of Labor: its aggressive Phases," in the *Atlantic Monthly*, May, 1871, p. 556, ff.

other organizations, renewed the allegiance to greenbackism, drafted and redrafted constitutions for bankrupt unions, and left only its heritage of a declaration of principles to be appropriated later by the Knights of Labor.*

INTERNATIONAL ATTEMPTS

Notwithstanding the peculiar conditions of civil war and paper currency, the Labor Movement in America was part of a general movement springing from western civilization. This is suggested in the fact that the rise and fall of the International Workingmen's Association in Europe was contemporary with that of the National Labor Union. Following are the dates and places of the Congresses that grew out of the two movements:

CONGRESSES OF THE NATIONAL LABOR UNION AND THE INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION

YEAR	N. L. U.	I. W. A.
1864	Louisville (forerunner)	London (preliminary)
1865		
1866	Baltimore	Geneva
1867	Chicago	Lausanne
1868	New York	Brussels
1869	Philadelphia	Basle
1870	Cincinnati	(Franco-Prussian War)
1871	St. Louis	London (conference)
1872	Columbus (political)	The Hague (socialist)
	Cleveland (industrial)	St. Imier (anarchist)
1873		Geneva (socialist)
		Geneva (anarchist)

Not only were the dates contemporaneous – the development of issues and policies was similar and contemporaneous. The "International" is generally reputed to have been organized in London in 1864 by Karl Marx

* An account of the Industrial Congress will be found in Powderly's *Thirty Years of Labor*, 106-130.

for the propaganda of international socialism. As a matter of fact, its object was the practical effort of British trade union leaders to organize the working men of the continent and to prevent the importation of continental strike-breakers.[11] The fact that Karl Marx wrote its "inaugural address" was incident to the circumstance that what he wrote was acceptable to the British unionists as against the draft of an address representing the views of Mazzini submitted to them at the same time. Marx emphasized the class-solidarity of labor against Mazzini's harmony of capital and labor, but he did this by reciting what British labor had done, without the help of capitalists, through the Rochdale system of coöperation; and what the British parliament had done, against the protests of capitalists, in enacting the ten-hour law of 1847. Now that British trade unionists were demanding the suffrage and laws to protect their unions, it followed that Marx merely stated their demands when he affirmed the independent, political organization of labor in all lands. His inaugural address was a trade-union document, not a Communist Manifesto. Not until Bakunin and his following of anarchists had nearly captured the organization did the program of socialism become the leading issue. Then, in order to save it from the anarchists, Marx and the British unionists succeeded at the last Congress of the International in 1872 in having its headquarters transferred from London to New York.

[11] See: Jaeckh, Gustav. *Die Internationale* (Leipzig, 1904); Beesly, Edward S. "The International Workingmen's Association," *Fort. Rev.*, Nov., 1870; Spargo, John. *Karl Marx: His Life and Work* (New York, 1910). Karl Marx, in his letter to F. Bolte, says: "Die Internationale wurde gestiftet, um die wirkliche Organisation der Arbeiterklasse für den Kampf an die Stelle der sozialistischen oder halb sozialistischen Sekten zu setzen. Die ursprünglichen Statuten wie die Inauguraladresse zeigen dies auf den ersten Blick." See *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen* von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und andere (Stuttgart, 1906).

The issue of anarchism and socialism came forward in the International in 1867, the same year in which the National Labor Union shifted from trade unionism and coöperation to greenbackism; and the issue did not become acute until the congress at Basle, in 1869. Prior to the latter year the International was busy with its trade-union objects of supporting strikes in the industrial centers of Europe and preventing the shipment of strike breakers. Without forcing the parallel too minutely, the general parallel may be affirmed, that the early years of the sixties in Europe and America represented the first organized resistance of wage-earners against the conditions brought about by steam transportation and the telegraph; that, as long as this resistance was successful they did not turn to general reforms, to panaceas, or to politics; that when the better organization of employers and the depression of business had weakened their trade-union efforts, they sought refuge in speculative philosophies and ultimate reforms; that the common object of these philosophies and reforms was the control of capital by coöperative labor, leading in Europe to socialism and anarchism, in America to greenbackism; and that with the remoteness of these remedies and their distant promises to immediate necessities, with the appearance of "intellectuals" and the disappearance of mechanics, the movement which began in both hemispheres as a struggle of wage-earners to meet conditions ended as a combat of dogmatists or politicians to solve the social problem, or to capture the labor vote.

That the object of the Americans, like that of the Englishmen, in joining an international movement, was the control of emigration for the protection of trade unions against the new menace of steam transportation and labor mobility, is apparent from the proceedings

of the National Labor Union and the letters of the American delegate who attended the congress at Basle. Herein were the voluntary beginnings of those restrictions on immigration, which, within twenty years after, by the votes of labor had reversed the time-honored principles of American legislation.[12]

In 1871 the International formed its first section in America, and in 1872 its headquarters were removed to New York. By 1874 the attempts to internationalize the American movement were abandoned, and in that year a nationalized International, the United Workers of America, was attempted. This failed, but was renewed in 1878 as the International Labor Union, still further Americanized by alliance of the Socialists with the Eight-hour Leaguers.[13]

THE PUBLIC DOMAIN

Henry George represents the second stage of agrarianism in the United States, just as George Henry Evans, another and earlier printer, stands for the first stage.[14] Both of them based their arguments on man's natural right to the soil. But in Evans's time there were millions of acres yet unappropriated, and the practical application of the theory needed only that these acres be withheld from speculators and donated to settlers. This first stage of agrarianism reached its culmination in the Homestead Law of 1862. But immediately following that law the same Congress began the donation of lands by the millions of acres to the Pacific railway promoters. It seemed that the hopes of homesteaders

[12] See: Commons, J. R. *Races and Immigrants* (New York, 1908), 117.

[13] The platform of the International Labor Union will be found in McNeill's *Labor Movement*, 161-163. Members of the organization were Sorge, Steward, McNeill, Gunton, and J. P. McDonnell.

[14] See volume vii, Introduction, and volume viii, chap. 3.

were to be dashed by a return to the land speculation and extensive holdings of earlier days. The first strong public protest against this reaction took shape in the National Labor Congress of 1866, and the now elderly land-reformers of the forties again gathered themselves together to protect their dearly-acquired right of individual homestead. Their activity appears throughout the proceedings of the National Labor Union and the Industrial Congress; and the final success of their agitation, in halting the gifts of land to corporations, marks the termination of the homestead stage of agrarianism.

But in California the homestead law did not apply, for enormous holdings had come down from the Spanish and Mexican régimes. With the land completely occupied, the agrarian theory must take a new form, and this was given by Henry George. Instead of distribution of unoccupied lands, he developed his idea of public ownership of the unearned value of occupied lands. This second stage of agrarian doctrine, growing out of Californian conditions, was too advanced to fit other American conditions, for not all of the homestead lands of the middle west had, in 1879, been taken up. For this reason the doctrine of Henry George, though originating in America, has found adoption in other parts of the world, where, as in Australasia, land monopoly is similar to that of California; or where, as in Germany and England, a feudal landlordism has been able hitherto to shift the ever-increasing burden of militarism upon labor and industry. Finally, today, when the agricultural lands have been distributed, their fertility extracted, and only the mountains, forests, waters, and deserts remain to be exploited by dummy homesteaders, the individualistic natural rights of the early agrarian move-

ments give way to the common rights of a third movement – the Conservation of Natural Resources.

PATRONS OF HUSBANDRY AND KNIGHTS OF LABOR

Prior to the sixties the main object of farmers' organizations was the technical improvement of agriculture. These organizations found their seat in the settled communities of the east and their activity in county fairs, competitive tests of new machinery, and selection and distribution of stock and seeds. In so far as organizations with economic and political objects were concerned, they were merged with the Farmers', Mechanics', and Working Men's Parties of the thirties, or with the two leading political parties. But after the fifties the farmers of the west, dispersed by the railroad, dependent on the middleman, and deficient in capital, land values, and credit, began to agree that good prices were needed as much as good crops. Their first public expression was probably that of the Illinois "Farmers' Platform" of 1858, with its voice against "nonproducers," its admonition of "ready pay," its glimpse of coöperative purchasing and selling, its demand on government for "seeds, plants, and facts." But the Civil War and its rise of prices postponed for ten years the response to this call. It was another fall in prices, exceeding that of 1858, that awoke the farmers of 1868. The Federal Congress, in the latter year, by the overwhelming vote of the farmers' representatives, stopped the retirement of the government paper money. But there had arisen another government over which the farmer had no control – the railroad corporation. He might check the fall in prices caused by his political government – he could not compel a similar fall in the prices controlled by this industrial government. In the

one case he merely notified his representatives in Congress, in the other he organized; and "the Grangers" then began that radical but tedious revolution of American ideas which is slowly bringing industry under the political power of democracy.

But it was not the organization popularly known as the "Grangers" that produced the Granger legislation. The Patrons of Husbandry was merely that one of several organizations through which the farmers were best able to discover their common interests and to inspire one another in a common cause. It is significant that in the two great divisions of American labor, those of the farmer and the wage-earner, the closing years of the sixties brought forth independently two peculiar but similar organizations that became the rallying-points of the first effective movements of each. The Patrons of Husbandry, organized in 1868 by O. H. Kelley, the government clerk, was strangely like the Knights of Labor, organized in 1869 by Uriah S. Stephens, the clothing-cutter. Each was a secret organization; each possessed an impressive ritual and a centralized authority; and each was diverted from its original purpose, against the protests of its founders, by the necessities of its recruits.

The object of each was "educational" and "moral:" to instruct the farmer in the principles of agriculture; to inspire in him a high regard for his noble occupation, the basis of national happiness; to raise the wage-earner above the narrow view of his class, or trade, or job; to show him to himself as an aid in the world's redemption; to lead him to equip himself by discipline, thought, and study. The ritual of each was designed by its solemn fascination to awaken these ideas and establish this lofty purpose. "Every tool used in agriculture" had "its ap-

propriate lecture;" and the young wage-earner, mysteriously conducted and admonished at the several stages of his initiation, was moved by a new sense of brotherhood and power. Secrecy added, not the suspicions of conspiracy or the shield of revolution, but confidence, freedom of expression, and intimacy. There were other secret organizations, especially among wage-earners, during the distressful and helpless years that followed the panic of 1873. Some of them, like the Molly Maguires, were the criminal remnants of suppressed trade unions.[15] But it was this union of secrecy, symbolism, and big brotherhood that drew the wage-earners in unexpected numbers after 1877 into the Knights of Labor. The similar attraction had overwhelmed the Patrons in 1872 and 1873, and in both organizations forthwith the novitiates pressed for immediate tangible results. It was not the education or moral uplift offered by both, nor insurance benefits offered by neither, nor schemes of coöperation vainly inaugurated by the leaders, but prices of products and wages of labor that both were forced to demand for their new adherents. The cloak of secrecy was loosened, the rank and file took possession, and these moralizing organizations became the unwilling instruments of the modern aggressive movements of legislation, strikes, and boycotts.

The outcome of each was analogous. Thousands of headlong recruits brought with them politicians, self-seekers, and camp-followers. Coöperation failed, strikes and boycotts were overdone. The disappointed

[15] See especially Allan Pinkerton's *Strikers, Communists, Tramps and Detectives* (1878), 88, 89; James F. Rhodes, "The Molly Maguires in the Anthracite Region of Pennsylvania," *Am. Hist. Rev.*, vol. xv, no. 3, 547-561.

masses deserted as precipitately as they had enlisted. The Patrons saved their organization by returning to their original purpose and leaving aggressive measures to the Greenback Labor Party, the Farmers' Unions, or the Farmers' Alliance; the Knights remained a bush-whacking annoyance on the heels of its successor, the American Federation of Labor.

JOHN R. COMMONS.
JOHN B. ANDREWS.

I

LABOR CONDITIONS

1. AMERICAN MECHANICS AND IMMIGRANTS

[Burn, James Dawson] *Three Years Among the Working Classes in the United States During the War* (London, 1865). On the subject of this chapter, see E. D. Fite's *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North During the Civil War* (New York, 1910).

[Pages 71-72] . . . It is not a little amusing to strangers to see how readily men adapt themselves to the circumstances of the time being, as they are neither restrained by delicacy of feeling nor the dread of failure from undertaking any sort of business, however ignorant they may be of its proper management. In my own trade I have known men who have boxed the compass of almost every species of human industry. Some have perambulated the length and breadth of the States, gone overland to California, and when tired of the gold region, returned by the same route. A working man in this country is situated very differently from one of his own class at home; if he have the means, he can go where he pleases without the trouble of carrying a certificate of character in his pocket. Indeed it would be just as admissible in the social code for a man seeking work to demand a character of the "Boss" he may apply to, as that he should be asked for one. In these matters Jack is as good as his master. The relationship which exists between slaves and their owners in this land of liberty has been the means of kicking the word master from the Yankee vocabulary, and the quaint phrase of "Boss" has been substituted in its place.

This country has had the rare advantage of growing

into national greatness without having had to pass through the ordeal of feudalism, or being trammelled in her progress by the tyrannical influence arising from the pride of caste; but though she has escaped the degrading effects of the one, the other is a contingency she may look forward to as one of the necessary developments of her social system, and that, too, at no distant period. I have no fault to find with working people for acting with manly independence in their intercourse with their employers. The two classes of men are related to each other by the conditions of mutual interest; but in this country, rudeness and want of civility on the part of the working man is often mistaken for straightforwardness of character, and as a consequence, ignorant and presumptuous people are frequently guilty of the most ridiculous conduct. . .

[Pages 182-190] For the benefit of those of my countrymen who are engaged in the hat manufacturing business I will endeavour to lay before them such information as may be of interest, but more particularly to those among them who may think of emigrating. [Description of processes omitted here.] I may mention that there are few men whose hands can stand blocking brush hats for any great length of time. The most of this work is done by Germans, Frenchmen, and Italians; and those accustomed to it can make from fourteen to twenty dollars a week, according to their readiness at the business. Since the price of hatters' materials has undergone such a great advance in consequence of the war tariff sizing hats has become a very variable process. Much of the refuse of hat-shops, which heretofore was looked upon as useless rubbish, is now mixed up with new stock and made into hats. The quantity of this worn-out material used in some lots of bodies is so disproportioned to the

new stock, that the men have often much difficulty in making their work sound. Generally speaking where the stock is not overlaid, the men can make very fair wages, but a stranger would scarcely credit the very great difference there is both between the character of the work and the prices paid for it in shops, not only in the same district, but within a few doors of each other. Mr. Joseph Gillham, in whose shop I worked, pays on a higher scale than any man in the trade within my knowledge; his goods, however, as a general rule, are of better quality than those made by other houses, and as his bodies are laid a large size they require much diligence and well-applied labour before they are fit to pass through the hands of the foreman.

When business is in anything like a healthy condition, an ordinary good sizer can make from twelve to fifteen dollars a week. It may be noted that the British workmen who learned their trade when they had to form their own bodies, as a general rule, make a very poor figure in competing with men who have obtained a knowledge of their business in the states. Many of these men will size two hats for one with some of the best English workmen. The old system of operating upon a single hat at the plank has been superseded by the American workmen, who size three, and occasionally four bodies together in a cloth. The whole secret in getting through the work quickly lies in keeping a loose roll until the bodies are nearly into the required size. While some men, who were ordinary fair sizers, laboured over a dozen of bodies in a day, I have seen others, without any apparent effort, do from two to three dozen. I have frequently had occasion to observe a good deal of disparity between workmen at home, but never anything like that which I have witnessed in America.

It will scarcely be credited by the old journeymen in England that some of the fire-eaters among the Yankee hatters have been known to make as much as fifty dollars in one week at certain kinds of work. I know several men within my own sphere of observation who, when in full employment, made from twenty to thirty-five dollars a week. These people, however, belong to the class who labour like horses with the lash continually held over them, and many of them drink like savages. So far as my own experience is in question, I have rarely ever known one of these extremely fast workmen who could make it convenient to save a cent. As they made their money, they spent it, and in a manner which showed that they were thoroughly regardless of the contingencies of health or continued employment.

If the hat business could be relied upon as a steady source of industry, I daresay it would be one of the best trades in the country. I am sorry to say, however, that there is no manufacturing business of which I have a knowledge so decidedly spasmodic in its character. This is accounted for by the amazing power of production which the "Forming Machine" gives the manufacturers. An order for a thousand dozen of hats in a district only lasts a short time. In the phraseology of the trade, the "squirtes" quickly gobble up the work. These fast men have such ravenous appetites for labour that they can scarcely spare time to eat their victuals, for fear they should not get their full share. In most of the shops the men get the work out of hand as quickly as they can do it, and the fast men have all the chances of monopolizing more than an equal share of the hats, which is certainly not using the slower class of workmen fairly. In the old country, I have never witnessed anything so disgustingly disagreeable as this selfishness of the American hat-

makers. No doubt it arises in part from the unsteady nature of the business, and from their wants being increased by their highly artificial state of existence.

When the business is in a prosperous condition, there is a constant struggle between the men and their employers about prices. I have seen as many as four shop-calls (meetings) in the course of a day upon as many different kinds of work. It may be mentioned that each shop regulates its own prices. It is a rule with the employers, in giving out a new lot of hats, to leave a margin of from four to ten cents, according to the nature of the stock and weight upon each hat; if the work is accepted by the men at the price on the tickets, nothing is said; but if the work should prove to be underpaid, the shop is called, and a higher rate demanded. In consequence of this state of things, the men and their employers are continually watching each other.

I have observed that the turns-out which have occurred in the trade in the localities in which I have been situated have been caused by a set of headstrong young men, who acted from the mere impulse of feeling; and by far the worst feature in these matters is that men of prudence and experience dare not open their mouths or use their influence at the public meetings, for fear of being black-balled. As a general thing, the men have little regard for the feelings or interests of each other, and respect of persons is a matter quite out of the question. Should any man with a proper sense of right and wrong attempt to defend an employer in a disputed case, he would be sure to be branded as a traitor, as well as being made a butt of ridicule by every fool in the shop who chose to raise a laugh at his expense, or to gratify his own evil disposition.

I have no hesitation in saying that the most vulgar, the

most ignorant, self-conceited, and headstrong class of men either in my own trade, or any other, are to be found among those who belong to one or other of the three divisions of the United Kingdom. This probably arises from an endeavour on the part of the new comers to imitate the worst features in the character of the natives, and in attempting this they out-Herod Herod in Yankee swagger and arrogance. The men in America, like the same class in Great Britain, who are the most loud-mouthed bawlers for trade rights and manly independence, are, with few exceptions, the meanest Jerry Sneaks and subservient tools in the trade when they come to be tested by even a small pressure of want. In seasons of dull trade the employers have matters all their own way, and of course are not slow to ring the changes upon the men. On these occasions the "all or none" gentlemen have no alternative but to accept a half loaf as being better than no bread.

Before the commencement of the war, a man in the trade, with economy and ordinary prudence, if employed even two-thirds of his time, might have saved money, as he could have supported a moderate family with six dollars a week. That time in the United States, like a dream of the past, is gone, and I fear never to return. From the open nature of both the hat trade and many other branches of skilled industry in America, a few years will thoroughly overstock them with hands, the immediate consequence of which will be a corresponding depreciation in the value of labour. In the meantime, from the loose system of apprenticeship which prevails, journeymen are being turned out as if by steam. I think the time is not far distant on this continent when the exclusive system of the European guilds will be introduced into the various branches of skilled indus-

try. . . As long as trades offer inducements to young men to join them, few will be content to spend their lives in the drudgery of the fields, or in what is looked upon as the meaner occupations of civilized life. The working-classes in America will be more impatient under a severe commercial pressure than any other people, when their Government ceases to spend a thousand millions of dollars annually, as they are doing while I am writing. They will find that four years of feverish prosperity have swelled their ranks and narrowed the field of their labour at the same time. This will not only be the case; but when the whole trade of the nation is made to collapse like an empty bladder, and the overstocked labour-market supplemented by return volunteers who have escaped death in the field or by disease, the struggle to live in many cases will be one of life and death.

One of the worst features in the hat trade in America for the journeyman, is the constant liability to be moved about from one establishment to another. When an employer finds his business begin to slacken, he immediately discharges a number of his men. This uncertainty prevails throughout the whole trade. It is therefore a matter of indifference where a man removes to; he is never safe from being shuttle-cocked from one place to another. I have known twenty men shopped who were all on the road again in less than a fortnight. No fault can be found with the employers for thus sending the journeymen about their business when it may suit either their taste or convenience, inasmuch as the men are in the habit of playing the same game when their end of the beam is up.

If a journeyman hatter in any part of the United Kingdom can earn from twenty-five to thirty shillings a week, I would certainly advise him to remain where he is, nor

do I know any class of tradesmen under the altered circumstances of the country who are likely to better their condition. As I have said before, the only people likely to improve their social condition by removing to the United States, are the strong, healthy, unskilled labourers who now crowd the labour markets at home. How long the country may even suit this class I cannot presume to say.

I think both the hours of meal-time and the distribution of the hours of labour in America are much better arranged than in any part of the United Kingdom. Workingmen take their morning meal about six o'clock, commence the labour of the day at seven, dine at twelve, leave off work at six p.m., and have supper about seven. I look upon the early breakfast as not only a useful fortification to the stomach against the baneful cold humid air of winter mornings, but it is calculated in no small degree to prevent that craving for intoxicating liquors which is so common among certain classes of tradesmen in Great Britain, but more especially in the northern division of it. The early breakfast hour is not confined to any class of people in America; all grades of men seem determined to take time by the forelock, and though the people glide through the world in the majesty of leanness, it is by no means either for the want of food or regularity in their meal hours.

When conversing with Mr. Peddie, the trunk manufacturer, concerning the comparative steadiness of his own countrymen and his experience of the people in his own employment, he had no hesitation in giving the Americans the preference for general habits of temperance. And as I have already remarked, my own experience forces me to arrive at the same conclusion. It is a misfortune, however, that men can be drunk in America without the use of intoxicating liquors!

[Pages 283-285] . . . It would be impossible to do anything like justice to the Institution of Emigrants in New York in the short sketch I am writing, but it will be useful to bring before the public a few of the leading features of the establishment. Every man, woman and child who comes to New York in the character of an emigrant must pass through the office of the Commissioners of Emigration in Castle Garden. Before the passengers of an emigrant ship leave her, their luggage is taken charge of by officers of the institution, for which numbered metal tokens are given. Both the passengers and luggage are then landed by the aid of a steam-tug belonging to the commissioners. After this the passengers pass through the landing-office in front of a series of desks, where their names, age, profession, country, the name of the vessel they arrived in, their destination, and the names of such friends or relations to whom they are going (if they have any) are booked. They are then forwarded to boarding-houses which are licensed by the municipal authorities, and under the direct patronage of the commissioners. The custom of these houses is made to depend upon the manner in which their keepers conduct their business; they are not only required to treat the emigrants fairly in their charges, but they are held accountable for such property as may be entrusted to them by the lodgers. The luggage left in the Garden can be called for when it suits the convenience of the owners, and whether removed soon or late there is no charge made. If an emigrant intends to remain in New York, and his luggage is such as he cannot carry away, it will be forwarded to his address at a much lower rate than he could have it done by engaging a conveyance himself.

Those emigrants who are going to the interior of the country are forwarded by the commissioners in their

own steamers either to the railway stations, or the vessels by which they are to travel, and in order to prevent their being imposed upon, they are supplied with tickets which will free them to their destination, in whatever part of the States that may be. When the emigrants leave New York for a distant part of the country, the commissioners do not lose sight of them, but by means of their agents in many of the distant towns, provide asylums for the indigent, and employment for the able-bodied. The class of emigrants who are without the means of transporting themselves to the interior of the country have loans granted upon such luggage as they may possess, which they can redeem when in employment, and no interest is charged for the money. The commissioners are also agents for employers over the whole of the States, so that they are enabled to find situations for emigrants in almost any of the branches of industry. Their employment office at the landing building is a highly valuable institution. By means of this office, numbers of young girls are saved from moral shipwreck. . .

[Page 289] About five years ago the Commissioners of Emigration made an attempt to learn the amount of money brought into the country by each emigrant; but as many of the emigrants refused to give the information, they were obliged to give up the task as a hopeless one. So far as they had proceeded, they were enabled to come to the conclusion that, upon an average, each emigrant brought twenty pounds British money into the country. . .

[Page 291-292] It would be well if all the poor emigrants who make their way to this country could avail themselves of the comforts, speed, and convenience which steam-vessels offer over sailing ships. The man

who has once travellel between Europe and America in the fetid hold of an emigrant-ship, has learned a lesson which his memory is likely to retain. I have yet before my mind's eye the dead calm, with its consequent lazy indifference and anxieties, the evenings with their immoralities, low intrigues, and strange demonstrations of natural temper, and the storm with its prayers and reckless profanity, in which the fair-weather bully becomes blanched with fear, while the seemingly timid assume a quiet magnanimity of character. How certain classes among the passengers pilfer from their neighbours, how the good-natured and the simple are imposed upon, and how the weak and the retiring are sent to the wall. Yes, and I remember, too, how some of the wily sailors fawned about the well-to-do passengers, in order to draw from their stores of creature comforts, and how rudely they treated the poor devils who had to live upon the ship's fare; and how the ebony cook attended to the passengers who had tipped him with the magic blarney of the Queen's coin; and how the penniless had to hang on for their meals in hungry anxiety to the last, with kicks and curses for their consolation. How a feeble-minded creature, in the character of a medical man, crept down below once a day, and how quickly he retraced his steps to the free air above. Then the colony of squalling children, with scolding unreasoning mothers, flirting gawky girls, who mistook vulgar flattery for kindly attention; dirty old hags, who amused themselves alternately with fault-finding, and hunting game over their vile bodies; and squads of young men who were learning their first lessons in life in a school where the common decencies of civilized society were set aside. In these ocean journeys the virtuous and well-disposed passengers have much to suffer, but, generally speaking,

they pass through the ordeal with greater faith in themselves, and they learn that men are more indebted to the society in which they are brought up for the formation of their character, than to any will of their own. . .

[Pages 301, 302] Three classes of people are most likely to better their condition by removing to the United States. In the first place, I would name unskilled labourers who have been accustomed to a low standard of wages, poor food, and miserable dwellings. The second class consists of those whose social and political rights and liberties are in the keeping of their lords and masters, as in several of the German States. The third class is made up of men from the various grades of society in the Old World who have managed their business of appropriation in such a bungling manner as to make them forfeit the good opinion of their neighbours, and cause the administrators of the law to be solicitous for their personal safety! All these will find a ready market for labour and enterprise in the United States, and with health, strength, and a willing mind, it is a man's own fault if he does not make himself a useful member of society, and secure many of the comforts and conveniences of civilized life to which he was a stranger at home. One condition, perhaps, ought to be named as essential to the success of working-men; they should bring with them youth and good health, so that they may be enabled to battle with the seasons until they become acclimatized. . .

2. THE COST OF LIVING[16]

The Printer (New York), July, 1864, p. 102.

THE NECESSITIES OF THE TIMES. We have "gone through the mill," and "know whereof we speak," and are satisfied that no family embracing four children can exist in comfort on less than the following:

EXPENDITURE FOR THE WEEK

One bag of flour	$1.40
Small measure of potatoes, daily, at 13 cents per day (7 days)	.91
One quarter of a pound of tea	.32
One pound of coffee (mixed or adulterated – can't afford better)	.35
Three and a half pounds of sugar	.80
Meats for the week	3.00
Two bushels of coal	1.20
Four pounds of butter	1.60
Two pounds of lard	.38
Kerosene	.20
Soap, starch, pepper, salt, vinegar, etc.	.75
Vegetables	.50
Dried apples – to promote the health of children	.25
Sundries	.44
Rent	4.00
Total	$16.00*

[16] Consult: Mitchell, W. C. *Gold, prices, and wages under the greenback standard* (Berkeley, Cal., 1908); and *A History of the greenbacks, with special reference to the economic consequences of their issue, 1862-65* (Chicago, 1903).

* This makes an actual total of $16.10.

Every old housekeeper is aware that, in addition to the above, there are numberless calls for three cents here, and five cents there, and that an additional dollar might squarely be added to our estimate; but we will suppose the printer's wife to be as firm as a rock on the subject of expenses, and that she *will* keep within the absolute necessities; and even then, in the name of humanity, how is she to get along? The average wages of all branches of the Art in this city is sixteen dollars per week – the average families, of the number stated; how, then, are these families to subsist, if, with the utmost watchfulness, every dollar is consumed for food and house-rent? Wearing apparel has trebled in price, and not one dollar is left to procure a supply. Every workman's family is short of house-linens, underclothing, shoes, etc.; and the fortunate printer that has more than one suit to his back, or whose wife can boast of more than a change of calicoes, can scarcely be found.

It may be objected that our estimate of weekly expenses is too high – that the rent item can be reduced. But let any family man carefully inspect the items, and he will be satisfied they cannot be reduced, except on the half-ration principle. As to rent, if the printer takes his family into a crowded tenement house, he may possibly save a little – only to be doubly swallowed up in doctor's bills, and the general health of his wife and children materially affected.

But where is the remedy?

The remedy consists in [one] of two courses. Either the workman must have his wages nominally increased, or be paid on the gold standard of four years ago. The average [value] of sixteen dollars now paid is really only eight dollars; and what printer was expected to support a family on that pittance four years ago? The

old-fashioned eleven dollars a week—specie standard—enabled the workman to live. At the present value of paper money, the minimum wages must be twenty-two dollars to place the journeyman in the position he formerly occupied at eleven dollars per week. It matters little which way it is done, so long as the receipts are made equal to the expenditures; only let it be done, and let the employers feel and acknowledge that the increase is reasonable and called for by the peculiar circumstances of the times.

The Printer, Aug., 1864, p. 116.

In the article referred to, we gave a table of necessary expenses for a family of six—the father, mother, and four children. When that table was written, it was correct, but when it appeared in print it was far below the market figure. We append it again, at present rates, for the reason that, when a large increase is called for, it is but fair that we give those gentlemen the reasons for the call:

EXPENDITURE FOR THE WEEK

One bag of flour	$1.80
Small measure of potatoes, daily, at .17 cents per day (7 days)	1.19
One quarter of a pound of tea	.38
One pound of coffee (mixed or adulterated—can't afford better)	.35
Three and a half pounds of sugar	1.05
Milk	.56
Meats for the week (being a half ration supply)	3.50
Two bushels of coal	1.36
Four pounds of butter	1.60
Two pounds of lard	.38
Carried over	$12.17

Brought over	$12.17
Kerosene	.30
Soap, starch, pepper, salt, vinegar, etc.	1.00
Vegetables	.50
Dried apples – to promote the health of children	.25
Sundries	.28
Rent	4.00
Total	$18.50

Fincher's Trades' Review, March 31, 1866, p. 8, col. 1.

ADDRESS TO THE IRON WORKERS of Great Britain, by the United Sons of Vulcan (known as the Puddlers' and Boilers' Union) of the United States, March 1, 1866. . .

We shall now proceed to give you a correct list of prices of the necessaries of life in this country at the present time. This will not be a list of what you can buy for in New York at wholesale prices, but retail prices as they actually are here, and copied verbatim from my (Tommy) store book, only that I shall follow the plan of the *Reporter*, and give the prices in English money, the better for your understanding thereof.

It is an old saying that straws show which way the current runs; we shall therefore commence with the straws. A box of matches costs two pence; a box of blacking five pence; a spool of sewing thread, 300 yards, six pence; a broom to sweep the house with three shillings; butter two shillings and six pence per pound; common brown sugar eight pence per pound; raisins, common twenty pence per pound; eggs per dozen twenty pence; common black tea six shillings per pound; coffee unroasted and unground twenty pence per pound; candles eleven pence per pound; ham fourteen pence per pound; potatoes six shillings per bushel; rice eight pence per pound; flour

per barrel of 196 pounds forty-seven shillings and six pence; a pair of hob-nail shoes to work in the mill with, twenty-two shillings and six pence; a flannel shirt for mill work ten shillings; a suit of men's Sunday clothes, that in England will cost four pound sterling, in America will cost sixteen pounds; women's wearing apparel in proportion to the above prices. Coal here, in the centre of the coal region of America, will cost you one shilling per hundredweight and buy it by the load; the rent of two small rooms will cost thirty-two shillings per month; boarding twenty-three shillings per week; your washing will cost you five pence for each article. We have a common saying now in this country, that you go to market with the money in a basket, and carry home the goods in your pocket. . .

3. THE SEWING WOMEN

Fincher's Trades' Review, March 18, 1865, p. 2, col. 6.
Complaints similar to the following were made in New York and other cities.

The sewing women of Cincinnati have addressed the following memorial to President Lincoln:

Cincinnati, O., Feb. 20, 1865.

To His Excellency, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States: The undersigned, wives, widows, sisters, and friends of the soldiers in the army of the United States, depending upon our own labor for bread, sympathizing with the Government of the United States, and loyal to it, beg leave to call the attention of the Government, through his Excellency the President, to the following statement of facts:

1. We are willing and anxious to do the work required by the Government for clothing and equipping the armies of the United States, at the prices paid by the Government.

2. We are unable to sustain life for the price offered by contractors, who fatten on their contracts by grinding immense profits out of the labor of their operatives. As an example, the contractors are paid one dollar and seventy-five cents per dozen for making gray woolen shirts, and they require us to make them for one dollar per dozen. This is a sample of the justice meted out to us, the willing laborers, without whom the armies could not be promptly clothed and equipped.

We most respectfully request that the Government, through the proper officers of the Quartermaster's Department, issue the work required directly to us, we

giving ample security for the prompt and faithful execution of the work and return of the same at the time required, and in good order.

We are in no way actuated by a spirit of faction, but desirous of aiding the best government on earth, and at the same time securing justice to the humble laborer.

The manufacture of pants, blouses, coats, drawers, tents, tarpaulins, etc., exhibits the same irregularity and injustice to the operative. Under the system of direct employment of the operative by the Government, we had no difficulty, and the Government, we think, was served equally well.

We hope that the Government, in whose justice we have all confidence, will at once hear us and heed our humble prayer, and we will ever pray, etc.

4. THE IMPORTATION OF LABOR

(a) THE AMERICAN EMIGRANT COMPANY

The legislature of Connecticut enacted a law, approved June 17, 1863 – Private Acts, 1863, Chapter 32 – chartering the American Emigrant Company, "for the purpose of procuring and assisting emigrants from foreign countries to settle in the United States, and especially in the Western States and Territories." Power was given the company to purchase and dispose of land. The act was amended June 8, 1865, to give the company the right to own and operate steamships to transport emigrants, to act as agents for sale of lands, and to own and sell live stock. In May, 1871, another amendment changed the name of the company to the American Emigrant and Trust Company. The opportunity for the company was provided by the Federal "act to encourage immigration," approved July 4, 1864. – U.S. Session Laws, 38th congress, first session, chap. ccxlvi. This provided for the validity of contracts made by emigrants in foreign countries, pledging their wages for a term not to exceed twelve months, to repay expenses of their emigration. This contract should operate as a lien upon any land or other property acquired by the immigrant, until the obligation was liquidated. This act of Congress was repealed by a rider attached to a law enacted in March, 1868. – U.S. Session Laws, 40th congress, second session, chap. xxxviii, sec. 4.

(1) Organization.

Seventh Annual Report of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, 1864-5; "Special Reports," 21-22.

THE AMERICAN EMIGRANT COMPANY, chartered for the purpose of procuring and assisting emigrants from foreign countries to settle in the United States.

Authorized Capital . . .	$1,000,000
Paid up Capital . . .	540,000

The object of this Company is to import laborers, especially skilled laborers, from Great Britain, Germany, Belgium, France, Switzerland, Norway and Sweden, for the manufacturers, rail-road companies, and other employers of labor in America. To accomplish this, it has established extensive agencies through those countries, and undertakes to hire men in their native homes and safely to transfer them to their employers here. A

system so complete has been put in operation here that miners, mechanics (including workers in iron and steel of every class), weavers, and agricultural, rail-road and other laborers, can now be procured without much delay, in any numbers, and at a reasonable cost.

The Company comprises, among others, the following gentlemen: A. G. Hammond, President of the Exchange Bank, Hartford, Connecticut; Hon. Francis Gillette, late U.S. senator for Connecticut; F. Chamberlin, H. K. Welch, and John Hooker, Hartford; Henry Stanley, of New-Britain, Conn.; A. W. North, S. P. Lyman and John Williams, New-York; Daniel T. Harris, president Conn. River Rail-road, Springfield, Mass.; E. B. Gillett, president of Hampden Bank, Westfield, Mass.; Charles Hulbert, late of J. M. Beebe and Co., Boston; F. C. D. McKay and James C. Savery, of Des Moines.

The Company is enabled, by special permission, to refer to the following gentlemen: Hon. S. P. Chase, chief justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, Washington, D.C.; Hon. Gideon Welles, secretary of the Navy; Governor Buckingham, Connecticut; Chief Justice Hinman, Connecticut; Henry A. Perkins, president Hartford Bank; Thomas Belknap, president State Bank, Hartford; Bank of New-York, New-York; Theodore Tilton, editor, *Independent*, New-York; Samuel Bolles, editor, and Dr. J. G. Holland, Springfield *Republican*, Springfield, Mass.; Professor Caswell, Providence, R.I.; Russell and Erwin Manufacturing Co., New-York; Hon. R. A. Chapman, judge Supreme Court, Mass.; Rev. H. W. Beecher, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Henry C. Carey, Esq., Philadelphia; Hon. Samuel B. Ruggles, New-York; Hon. James Dixon, U.S. senator, Conn.; Hon. Geo. Ashmun, Mass.;

Hon. Charles Sumner, U. S. senator, Mass.; Hon. Henry Wilson, U.S. senator, Mass.; Ex-gov. Sprague, U.S. senator, Rhode Island; Hon. L. S. Foster, U.S. senator, Conn.; Morris Ketchum, Esq., New-York; Gov. Stone, Iowa; Hon. Jas. Harlan, U.S. senator, Iowa; Hon. Horace Everett, Council Bluffs, Iowa; J. S. Morgan and Co. (late Geo. Peabody and Co.), London.

JOHN WILLIAMS, General Agent for Emigration. No. 3 Bowling Green, New-York.

(2) Methods.

"Report of Mr. Thomas D. Shipman on The State of the Labor Market, etc., in New York," from the *Annual Report* of the Minister of Agriculture of the Province of Canada for the year 1865. In *Sessional Papers* for 1866, no. 5, 83-84.

. . . This association is called the "American Emigrant Company;" its offices are situated at No. 3, Bowling Green, New York, and the prospectus informs us that it has been incorporated by the government with the object of assisting and procuring emigrants from foreign countries to settle in the United States. The company represents a capital of $1,000,000, nearly two-thirds of which are paid up, and it acts as the agent of employers in the United States in making contracts with mechanics abroad, stipulating that they shall be hired for a specific term at a fixed rate of wages. The class of emigrants in requisition are stated to be mechanics of all descriptions, agricultural, railroad and other laborers, miners and factory operatives. This includes all classes of skilled and unskilled labor.

The cost of the emigrant's passage, if he be engaged through the agency of this company, is advanced to him, if necessary, under certain conditions, and he makes a contract which is valid in law, to repay the expenses of his emigration in reasonable instalments, by pledging the wages of his labor.

This system goes far to remove the poverty and inexperience of the workingman, for without any risk of his own he is transported to the best field for the exercise of his industry, and where he is most likely to reap success.

He has thus a fixed purpose before leaving his home, and is guaranteed protection till he reaches his employer. He is promptly carried to the scene of his labor, and loses neither time nor money in wandering about in search of employment.

The American Emigrant Company, to use its own words, will thus "be an efficient channel of intercourse between the man in America who wants help and the man in England who wants work."

This company, also, does not limit its sphere of action to those with whom it makes special contracts, but it offers all emigrants, that is, those who go on their own resources, all the advantages of its influence and experience on both sides of the Atlantic.

As an auxiliary, the company publishes a monthly paper entitled *The American Reporter and Intending Emigrant's Guide.* This sheet is devoted exclusively to the interests of the association, and the subjects upon which it treats are those most likely to arrest the attention of persons contemplating emigration.

The management of the company appears to be entrusted to Mr. John Williams, a man of singular energy and ability, and the profits of the company, according to rumor, are very considerable.

TERMS UPON WHICH THE COMPANY TRANSACT BUSINESS. 1. They exact a fee of one dollar, in all cases, upon application. 2. When operatives are ordered to be sent forward, they charge for skilled workmen, including mechanics of every kind, miners, gardeners,

etc., ten dollars each; railroad and agricultural laborers, six dollars each; females for domestic and farm labor, five dollars each; boys learning trades, five dollars each. 3. They receive commission from ship-owners for ocean passage, also on inland tickets issued from the sea-board to place of destination, say, upon average, fifteen per cent. 4. I am told they take the Emigrant's fare in gold and pay the same in American currency, also, profiting by the exchange of money, drafts, etc. 5. They are interested to some extent in the speculation of the various land companies, receiving a bonus for any sale made through their agency. . .

(3) Advertisements by an Agent.
Missouri *Democrat*, May 15, 1865.

. . . I am about to enter upon the great enterprise of inducing labor and capital to Missouri. I have been honored with an appointment from Governor Fletcher, as a Commissioner on the Board of Immigration. Already my duties have led to an extensive correspondence with leading parties in England and Scotland, and consequent upon this appointment, the American Emigrant Company of New York have designated me their agent for Missouri. This company has been formed under the auspices of leading members of our government, of the Immigration Bureau at Washington, and of leading merchants, bankers, senators and representatives, chiefly in the Eastern States. It has been "chartered for the purpose of procuring and assisting emigrants from foreign countries to settle in the United States." The Company has a paid up capital of $540,000. The direct advantages are these:

1st. It secures a supply of diversified labor necessary to develop the varied resources of the country, and to prosecute every branch of industry.

2nd. It offers facilities for large corporations or special industrial interests to import in sufficient quantity the special kind of labor which they require.

3rd. It gives each individual employer the opportunity of supplying himself with the exact number and description of operatives he needs.

4th. It will tend to equalize the value of labor in Europe and America, and thus by raising the rate of wages in the Old World, undermine and finally destroy its manufacturing supremacy.

5th. It opens by its agencies, new sources of immigration, and aims at the introduction in large numbers of a superior class of men from Northern Europe, Belgium, France, Switzerland, as well as Germany, England, Scotland and Wales.

My books of registry are now open for inspection, and according to instructions, I shall make free use of our daily press with all communications bearing upon the material and moral interests of my adopted State.

To railroad companies, mining companies, manufacturers of iron and steel, machinists, boiler makers, ship and house builders, manufacturers of all kinds, as well as to the farming interests generally, I now tender my best services, and shall be happy to meet all my old friends in my new position. THOMAS E. SOUPER,

Agent American Emigrant Company.

Democrat Office Buildings, N.E. cor. Fourth and Pine Sts.

Missouri *Democrat*, May 15 to May 23, 1865.

The American Emigrant Company is now prepared to bring out passengers from Great Britain and Ireland either by Steam or Sailing ship.

Passengers, especially females and children coming under the protection of this Company, will be carefully

attended to by its Agents, at the port of departure and arrival, and promptly forwarded to their destination.

Passage in all cases at the lowest going rates. Apply to

THOMAS E. SOUPER,
Agent American Emigrant Company.

LABORERS OF EVERY KIND SUPPLIED. The American Emigrant Company is now prepared to supply miners, puddlers, machinists, blacksmiths, moulders, and mechanics of every kind; also, gardeners, railroad and farm laborers and female help at short notice and on reasonable terms. For particulars apply to

THOMAS E. SOUPER,
Agent American Emigrant Company.

IMPORTANT TO FARMERS and other employers of labor. The American Emigrant Company is in expectation of the arrival this summer of a large number of Swedish emigrants of both sexes, and is ready to contract with farmers and other employers of labor, for the delivery in given localities, of companies varying from twenty to fifty of the same. The opportunity is a most favorable one for the supply of this superior class of labor. Address, at once, for particulars

THOMAS E. SOUPER,
Agent American Emigrant Company.

(b) THE CHINESE

(1) To supplement the Negro.

Memphis *Daily Avalanche*, July 16, 1869. On July 13 to 15, 1869, a convention, arranged by southern capitalists and planters, was held at Memphis, Tennessee, on the subject of labor immigration. The committee on finance, General Pillow, chairman, recommended the organization of a stock company to supply planters with laborers. The committee on transportation reported the figures made by the Union Pacific Railroad "for the transportation of Chinese from California to Memphis, forty-four dollars and seventy cents in lots of five hundred and upward." — Philadelphia *Inquirer*, July 21, 1869. The committee on Chinese Labor submitted the following report.

The committee assumes it is the sense of this Convention, that even if the present labor element among us could be utilized and profitably employed, it would still be utterly inadequate to the wants of the Southern and South-western States, and that we not only have ample room and superior inducements to offer to European immigration, but that it is also desirable and necessary to look to the teeming population of Asia for assistance in the cultivation of our soil and the development of our industrial interests; and that China, especially, is capable of supplying us with a class of laborers peculiarly adapted to our circumstances and the necessities of our situation. . . The idea, then, that there is any danger of too great an accession to our population, provided it be of the kind we desire, is simply the madness of the moon. And if God in His providence, has opened up the door for the introduction of the Mongolian race to our fields of labor, instead of repelling this class of population as heathens and idolaters, whose touch is contaminating, would we not exhibit more of the spirit of Christians by falling in with the apparent leadings of Providence, and whilst we avail ourselves of the physical assistance these pagans are capable of affording us, endeavor at the same time to bring to bear upon them the elevating and saving influence of our holy religion, so that when those coming among us shall return to their own country, they may carry back with them and disseminate the good seed which is here sown, and the New World shall thus in a double sense become the regenerator of the Old.

The question specially referred to the consideration of your Committee is as to the best means of introducing this Asiatic labor, and this is the question of paramount importance to our people. Your committee has con-

versed fully and freely with Mr. Koopmanschaap, the agent of California Chinese Immigration, who has a large experience in that field of enterprise; and also with Mr. Tye Kim Orr, a native Chinaman of intelligence and cultivation, who has travelled a great deal, and is perfectly familiar with our language and habits.

The information derived from the gentlemen has satisfied your committee of the very great difference between different classes of Chinamen, and the great care and caution that will be necessary in procuring supplies that may be ordered by our people, since those following mechanical pursuits or lounging about the towns and cities of China are wholly unfit for agricultural pursuits and very frequently are of a malicious and unreliable character, while those of the rural districts of China are industrious, docile and competent agricultural laborers and exhibit as much fidelity in the performance of their duties and obligations as any people in the world.

Mr. Koopmanschaap did not come prepared to make engagements for the delivery of laborers here now, but the chief object of his visit was to acquaint himself with the wants of our people, and the extent of the demand, which he finds to be much greater than he anticipated; and his purpose is to return to California without delay, and make a special visit to China with a view to make some definite arrangements commensurate with the demand, information of which will be communicated to the public here at the earliest period practicable. His present estimates of the expenses incident to employing Chinese labor are to a great extent conjectural. He thinks that laborers can be transported from some Chinese port to Memphis via San Francisco and the Pacific Railroad in some six weeks, or two months at the outside, and delivered here at an expense not exceeding one

hundred dollars per head. He supposes the companies he represents will be willing to deliver them here at that rate, guaranteeing the laborers to be of the description ordered or represented, the transportation money to be secured and paid on delivery of the laborer at Memphis.

As to the rate of wages, and reimbursement of the transportation money, those are matters of contract, which must be ultimately controlled, as all such questions are, by the law of demand and supply. The wages these laborers receive in China are merely nominal, but in California, the urgency of the demand in the mines and upon the railroads, has fixed the wages of labor at a figure that we would be unwilling to meet. The first importation made by us will doubtless be the most expensive, and the monthly wages, exclusive of rations, will, perhaps, be from eight to twelve dollars. These estimates are, however, as already remarked, merely conjectural; and in a great enterprise like this, so inseparably connected with our progress and prosperity, individually, and as a people, we must practice the virtues of patience and perseverance, submit to temporary sacrifice, and be hopeful of the future. Two facts are patent—China has the labor that we need, and it can be procured to an unlimited extent. When the supply of this labor becomes a business, competition will of course spring up, and the expense of procuring it will be reduced to a minimum which must fall far below the expenses incident to our present labor system, whilst its great advantage over that system, and the impetus it will impart to all of our industrial interest, will, it is confidently believed, very soon silence all objections, and remove all the prejudices now existing in the minds of our people. Respectfully submitted,

J. W. CLAPP, Tennessee, Chairman; WIRT ADAMS,

Mississippi; G. W. GIFT, Tennessee; L. C. GARRETT, Arkansas; J. C. GOODLOE, Alabama; W. H. SUTTON, Louisiana; J. PATTON ANDERSON, Tennessee; —— DUPREE, Louisiana; E. RICHARDSON, Louisiana.

On motion of Judge Sutton, the report was adopted.

(2) To counteract the Knights of St. Crispin.

The Springfield *Republican*, June 17, 1870, p. 8, col. 2.

The van of the invading army of Celestials, seen in a vision by Wendell Phillips, greatly feared by all democrats, and not particularly welcomed by anybody, except in dire necessity, have arrived at North Adams, in the persons of seventy-five Chinamen engaged by C. T. Sampson to man his shoe factories, and free him from the cramping tyranny of that worst of American trades-unions, the "Knights of St. Crispin." These men were engaged in San Francisco through a Chinese business firm, by Mr. Chase of North Adams, who went out for that purpose. They are to be paid twenty-three dollars a month the first year, twenty-six dollars a month for the second and third years, and sixty dollars a month to Ah Sing, their foreman, who speaks and writes English fluently. Their passage is paid to Adams, their quarters and fuel furnished, but they of course board and clothe themselves. If any man be worthless, the San Francisco house forfeits twenty-five dollars and sends another in his place. The most sacred part of the Chinaman's religion, his body's burial with his ancestors, is also nominated in the bond, Sampson pledging to box up each corpse and send it to Kwong Chong Wing Company in Frisco, who will take charge of the rest of it. . .

The Boston *Commonwealth*, June 25, 1870, p. 2, col. 2.

They are with us! the "Celestials" – with almond eyes, pigtails, rare industry, quick adaptation, high morality, and all – seventy-five of them – hard at work in the town

of North Adams, making shoes. And their employer, and all the neighbors, say they are excellent in skill and deportment, ready learners, respectful and obedient, and almost as good as the same number of intelligent American workmen. These "Celestials" belong to no striking organizations – do not care to be out nights – don't worry about their pay – do not presume to dictate to their employer – and have situations guaranteed to them for three years. And the secret of it all is this: the Crispins of that town not only sought to establish their own pay and hours, but they demanded the discharge of their associates delinquent on the lodge-books of their organizations. Refusing to accede to this dictation, their employer, Mr. Sampson, saw the entire crowd of members in good standing with the lodge leave the shop, and himself, with unfilled contracts, on the brink of ruin. Being a man of energy he bethought him of the Chinese, of whom favorable reports had reached him as shoemakers in California. Thither he at once posted, and in a few weeks seventy-five of their countrymen entered the handsome village of North Adams, and in a day or two were at work in the deserted factory; while all Crispendom, near and remote, have since been watching the experiment, in mortal fear that their occupation is gone.

Now comes the question of the hour. Shall we give welcome to these Asiatic mechanics? It is a hard thing to supplant native workmen with them. But it is a harder thing to be dominated in our enterprise and industry by a secret, oath-bound labor organization, that listens to no reason, and whose practice is to rule or ruin. Mr. Sampson has solved for himself the problem. He is to be a free man – free to make his contracts, and conduct his business as he will, as well as nominally free

under the guarantees of the law; and he has only done what every man of spirit and energy should do, if possible – triumphed over every obstacle that hindered the development of his prosperity, so long as he deprived no other man of his liberty to work, to accumulate, to rise in the social scale. That he is not a reckless and unprincipled man is shown that he has at once commenced the education of his new help, and some of them have ventured voluntarily into the Sunday-school connected with his church. We cannot question that American civilization can absorb this new element, moulding all races into one superior, predominant class. We have infinite trust in that Wisdom which made of one blood all nations to adapt this ancient people to the new world. Annoying as may be the perturbations of labor in the process, we believe that the nation, civilization, and humanity, will be benefited by this commingling of the races.

The Boston *Investigator*, July 6, 1870, p. 78, col. 1.

THE VOICE OF FREE LABOR. A large and enthusiastic meeting of the workingmen of this city was held in Tremont Temple last Wednesday afternoon and evening. Its object was to take some measures relative to the importation of coolie labor into Massachusetts. Many speeches were made, the substance of which is embodied in the following Resolutions passed by the meeting:

WHEREAS, efforts are now being made to introduce into the manufactories of this state coolie labor from China in order to cheapen, and, if possible, degrade the intelligent, educated loyal labor of Massachusetts, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that while we welcome voluntary laborers from every clime, and pledge them the protection of our laws, and the assurance of equal opportunities in every

field of industry, still we cannot but deprecate all attempts to introduce into the manufactories of this State a servile class of laborers from China, or elsewhere, who come in fulfilment of contracts made on foreign soil, and with no intention to become American citizens or aid in the permanent development of American resources.

RESOLVED, that in the language of the Massachusetts Bill of Rights, Government is instituted for the common good, for the protection, safety, and happiness of the people, and not for the profit, honor, or private interest of any one man, family, or class of men. Therefore, the people alone have an incontrovertible, unalienable and indefeasible right to institute government, and to reform, alter, or totally change the same when their protection, safety, property, or happiness require it; and we, therefore, declare our fixed and unalterable purpose to use the power of the ballot to secure the protection, safety, property, and happiness of the working people of this commonwealth as against this new attempt of capital to cheapen labor and degrade the working classes by importing coolie slaves for that purpose.

RESOLVED, that we tender our thanks to the Hon. Henry Wilson for his earnest efforts to secure the passage of a law prohibiting the fulfilment on American soil of these infamous contracts for coolie labor, and we call upon our representatives in Congress to use all their influence to secure the passage of such a law as is due alike to the best interests of the country, as well as a measure of justice to the coolie, who, ignorant of the value of labor, accepts conditions degrading alike to him and to us.

RESOLVED, that the conduct of the Massachusetts Legislature, in twice refusing to take action calculated to

check the introduction of the coolie system into this state, deserves the rebuke and condemnation of every working man in the State, as well as the condemnation of every man who believes in the dignity of labor or the supremacy of liberty over tyranny.

RESOLVED, that we ignore all elements, whether in this meeting or out, which have for their tendency the strengthening of any man's chance for political honors who is not pledged to represent the greatest number of the people for the people's good, and who is not willing to be held accountable to the people for his political actions.

RESOLVED, that we have voted for protection to American industry at the suggestions of the rich manufacturers who owned the protected products, thinking to help ourselves, but we now find that, under the scheme of protection, capital is to get the protection and American labor is to be reduced to the Chinese standard of rice and rats, and we cut loose, now and forever, from the false and lying knaves who have beguiled us.

RESOLVED, that the rights of workingmen will gain no successful foothold in Massachusetts until the workingmen repudiate those time serving politicians who think to retain office at any price of double dealing.

RESOLVED, that we cordially endorse the course of Hon. Henry K. Oliver, Chief of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and his assistants, for the able report on the condition of labor in this State, and pledge ourselves all the aid in our power by collecting and placing before the people the true condition and needs of the working classes.

5. EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATIONS

The sudden and aggressive organization of unions in 1863 and 1864 is indicated by the defensive organization of employers. The only documents emanating from these organizations which have been discovered, have come by way of the labor papers. Some of them are fragmentary and perhaps garbled; but the following from *Fincher's Trades' Review* seem to be authentic, and they are typical.

(a) FOUNDRYMEN

The molders, whose international president, William H. Sylvis, was the recognized leader of the National Labor Union, were perhaps the most aggressive and wide-spread of the labor organizations of the sixties.

(1) Address of the Iron Founders' and Machine Builders' Association of the Falls of the Ohio.

Fincher's Trades' Review, Oct. 3, 1863.

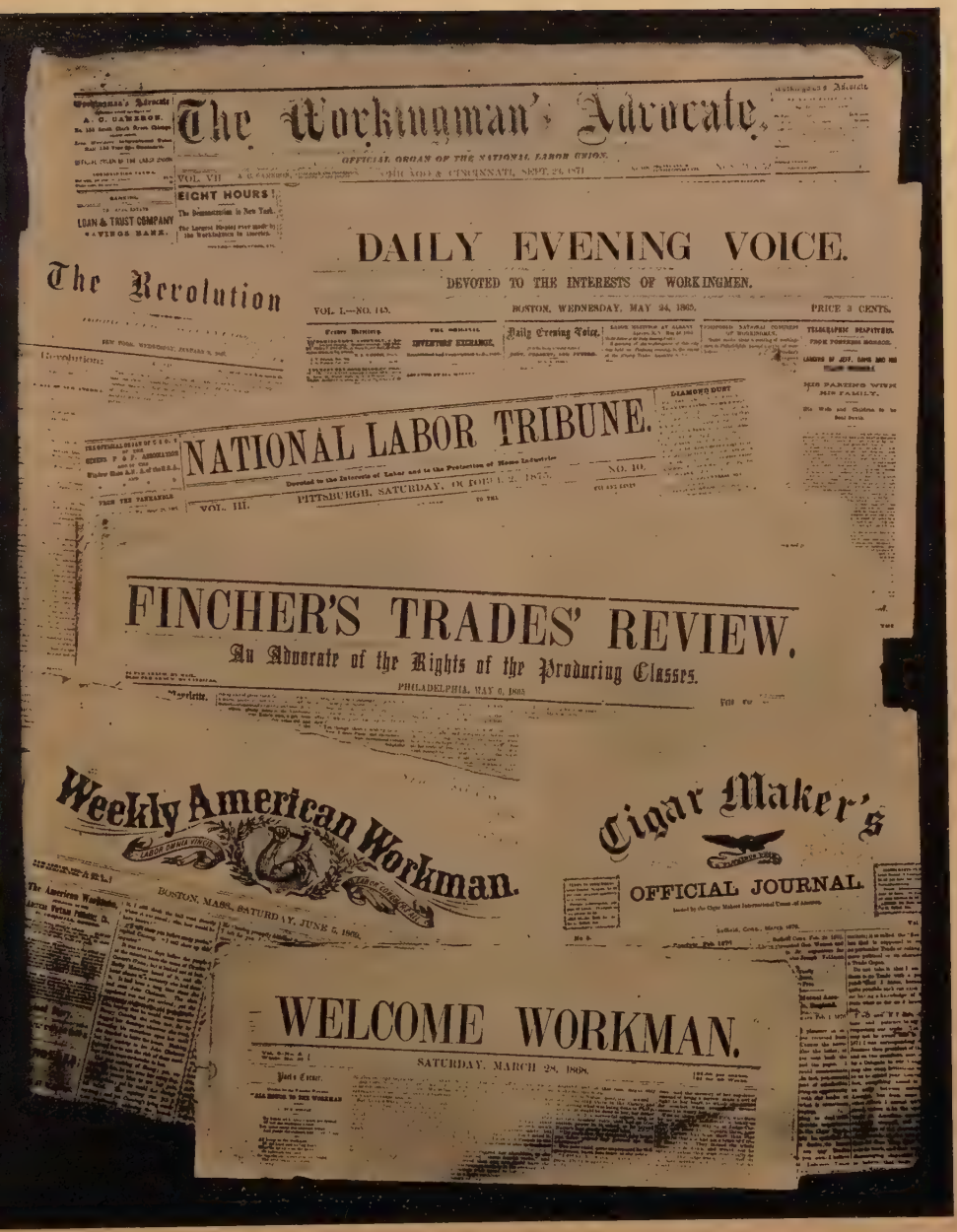
It is a well known fact that there has been in existence for more than two years in the city of Louisville, and almost every other city of the United States, an association called the "Iron Moulders' Union," which has now gained such strength that it is making its power felt, and in a manner very injurious to the interest of the public, as also to that of the worthier members of the "Union" itself. Its ostensible purpose, according to the published Constitution, is, "To elevate the moral, social and intellectual condition of every moulder in the country." This is, no doubt, a very laudable object—one which commands the sympathy of all right-thinking men, and no one would aid the association in obtaining such an end more willingly than the employers of the members of the "Union" themselves.

In examining, however, the Constitution and the practical workings of the "Iron Moulders' Union," it becomes at once apparent that this is not the real or only

object in view, for it will be seen that Section 3, Article IX, of their Constitution provides: "No employer can become a member of this 'Union,' nor shall any member, becoming an employer, remain a member thereof." And Section 2 of the same Article does not even permit a foreman, when he has in any way become interested in the profits of an establishment to remain in the "Moulders' Union." Thus it will be seen that instead of calling upon the employers to co-operate with their Union in advancing the "moral, social, and intellectual condition of every moulder," which self-evidently is a matter of common interest, the "Moulders' Union" even goes so far as to expel a member as soon as he has, by his superior skill and industry, succeeded in establishing himself independently in business, and thus accomplished one of the avowed objects of the Union. This fact alone indicates, if other proofs were wanting, that the "Moulders' Union" look upon their employers as their enemies. Their arbitrary interference with the business management of their employers proves this to be the leading principle of the association.

The "Moulders' Union" has made an attempt, and thus far a successful one, to dictate to and extort the most unreasonable terms from their employers all over the country – terms which, if submitted to, must eventually prove ruinous to the moulders themselves, since it would destroy our whole business. They have undertaken to arbitrarily decide, not only as to what wages must be paid, but even as to the number of apprentices each shop is to employ, the kind and amount of work the laborers in our foundries may or may not be allowed to do, and to prevent any moulder from working in a shop who is not a member of their Union.

These and numerous other equally unreasonable and


The Workingman's Advocate.
OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL LABOR UNION.
EIGHT HOURS!
DAILY EVENING VOICE.
DEVOTED TO THE INTERESTS OF WORKINGMEN.
The Revolution
NATIONAL LABOR TRIBUNE.
Devoted to the Interests of Labor and to the Protection of Home Industries
FINCHER'S TRADES' REVIEW.
An Advocate of the Rights of the Producing Classes.
PHILADELPHIA, MAY 6, 1865
Weekly American Workman.
BOSTON, MASS., SATURDAY, JUNE 5, 1869.
Cigar Maker's
OFFICIAL JOURNAL
WELCOME WORKMAN.
SATURDAY, MARCH 28, 1868.

TYPICAL TITLE PAGES OF LABOR PAPERS OF THE CIVIL WAR PERIOD

inadmissible interferences of the "Iron Moulders' Union" cannot be submitted to any longer without losing not only our business but our self-respect.

Now, therefore, in order to protect ourselves against the injurious interferences of the "Iron Moulders' Union," or any other similar association now existing or that may hereafter be formed, we, the undersigned foundrymen and machine builders and employers of other iron workers of Louisville, New Albany, and Jeffersonville, have formed a regularly organized association to be entitled the "Iron Founders' and Machine Builders' Association of the Falls of the Ohio," and do therefore adopt the following as the principle of our organization:

1st. We deny the right of the "Iron Moulders' Union," or any other Union, to arbitrarily determine the wages of our employees, regardless of their merits and the value of their services to us, and we are opposed to every combination which has for its object the regulation of wages, whether it be among the employers, for the purpose of keeping down wages, or among employees, for the purpose of forcing up wages. We desire the utmost individual liberty both for employers and employees. The demand for and the supply of labor, the merits of each individual workman, and the cost of living, are the natural causes which should regulate wages. Under the free operation of these causes, the skillful and industrious workman can always feel secure of obtaining the highest wages.

2nd. We deny the right of the "Iron Moulders' Union" to determine for us how many apprentices we should employ. According to Article VII, Section 7, of their constitution, they dictate to their employers that not more than one apprentice shall be employed in each

machine foundry, and one to every fifteen moulders in each stove foundry. This arbitrary interference in our business cannot be defended upon any grounds of right and justice. It is an assault upon the individual liberty of the citizen; it is an act against the laws of society and trade, according to which the expansion or profitableness of any branch of business should determine the number of persons that shall engage in it, and each citizen ought to be left free to choose for himself.

The interests of the whole country may require today double the number of moulders that it required a year ago, but the "Iron Moulders' Union," constituting themselves legislators, determine for the whole country how many moulders there shall be, independent of the requirements of this branch of industry, and thus sacrifice to their own selfishness the best interests of the whole community.

3rd. We shall resist by all legal means, at every sacrifice of time and money, all attempts of any set of men arbitrarily to regulate the supply of labor in any department of trade and business. While we protest against the attempt of the "Moulders' Union" to determine the number of apprentices that shall be employed in each foundry, we shall cheerfully co-operate with them in their efforts to thoroughly educate all apprentices and make them masters of their business; and we further protest against every attempt on the part of the "Iron Moulders' Union" to prescribe to our employees what kind of work they shall or shall not perform. Section 8 of Article VII of their Constitution provides: "No member of this Union shall permit any helper to ram his flasks." This clause exhibits a dispostion on the part of the moulders to prevent the laboring man from acquiring knowledge and bettering his condition. While it is

of little consequence to us if a moulder insists upon doing laboring work which can be performed as well by less skilful hands, yet we protest against the spirit of such enactments, which we consider alike degrading to those who originate them as to those on whom they are to be enforced.

COURSE OF ACTION. 1st. The corresponding secretary of the "Iron Founders' and Machine Builders' Association of the Falls of the Ohio" shall put himself into communication with all the parties of the principal cities of the United States engaged in similar business to that of the members of this association and suffering under the same grievances. He shall take the necessary steps to secure their co-operation in all the measures to be taken in our and their own defense. He shall endeavor to cause the interested parties in other cities to form similar associations to ours, and in case he succeeds in doing so, he shall transact all business through the officers of said associations. But in case no associations can be formed, or before they can be organized, the corresponding secretary shall correspond with the individual firms of other cities.

3d. To those of our employees who see that we ask nothing but what is reasonable, and who desire to withdraw from the "Iron Moulders' Union," or who may be in favor of changing the Constitution of their society in those particulars to which we take exception, we promise and guarantee full protection to their persons and their property. Should any personal violence be offered to those of our employees who prefer to obey the dictates of reason, right, and liberty, in preference to those of the "Moulders' Union," or should any threats be made to them directly or indirectly by any member of the said Union, we will use all our influence and means

to see that the laws of the land shall be fully enforced against such conspirators against the individual rights of the citizen and the peace of the community.

4th. Should the employees in any of our establishments stop work in order to force their employers to submit to unreasonable demands, the members of the "Iron Founders' and Machine Builders' Association of the Falls of the Ohio," and the members of the associations of other cities, or the establishments who have agreed to act in concert with these associations, shall not employ any men engaged in such strike. The names of the parties engaged in any attempt to force their employers to submit to unreasonable demands shall be sent in a circular at the expense of this Association to all the other associations or establishments with which we are in correspondence, in order that they may be prevented from getting employment until they either withdraw from the "Moulders' Union," or cease to attempt the enforcing of their unjust demands. Similar circulars received from the associations or establishments in other cities shall be respected by this Association in like manner.

Finally, the object of all the measures which the "Iron Founders' and Machine Builders' Association of the Falls of the Ohio" propose to take is self-protection. We have not united for the purpose of oppressing our employees; we only desire not to be oppressed ourselves. We have not united for the purpose of encroaching upon the rights of workmen, but we also possess rights as employers which we do not wish to see encroached upon. We desire that every workman should be paid liberally for the work he performs, and we shall comply with every just demand that may be made upon us. We also desire to cultivate a feeling of friendship and confidence

between the employee and employers, and will resist every attempt of those who wish to create a feeling of hostility and hatred between us.

Given under our hands this 3rd day of September, 1863.

WM. H. GRANGER, Agent, Phoenix Foundry; DENNIS LONG, Union Foundry; AINSLIE, COCHRAN AND COMPANY, Louisville Foundry and Machine Shop; MILLER AND MOORE, Louisville Agricultural Works; SNEAD AND COMPANY, Market Street Foundry; E. BARBAROUX, Hydraulic Foundry and Machine Shop; GEORGE MEADOWS, Hope Foundry; PEARSON AND AIKIN, Variety Foundry; BRIDGEFORD AND COMPANY, Louisville Stove and Grate Foundry; J. S. LITHGOW AND COMPANY, Eagle Foundry; HAYS AND COOPER, Wagon and Plow Manufacturers; A. H. PATCH AND COMPANY, Agricultural Works; J. O. CAMPBELL AND COMPANY, Kentucky Machine Works; INMAN, GAULT AND COMPANY, Washington Foundry; R. G. KYLE AND COMPANY, Stove Foundry; THOS. PAWSON AND COMPANY, American Foundry, New Albany; ALBERT FINK, Supt. Bridges, Machinery and Rolling Stock, Louisville & Nashville Railroad Company.

(2) New England.
Fincher's Trades' Review, May 28, 1864.

New Haven, Conn., April 11, 1864.

GENTLEMEN: A few weeks since several parties employing bench molders, were seriously interfered with in the management of their business, by the "International Iron Moulders' Union," who, through "Committees," told them how many apprentices, they might employ, how many molds should be a day's work, the number of hours for a day, and the amount of wages therefor. This the employers considered as an usurpa-

tion of their own legitimate rights, and decided not to accede to the demands of the "Committee."

And in order that they might act understandingly, and mutually protect each other, a call was hastily issued from New Britain, for the employers of bench molders in the immediate vicinity to meet at New Haven, Tuesday, March 8th, 1864, to form an "American Iron Founders' Association." The meeting was well attended, its object fully discussed, and all present joined the organization proposed; but in order that a more extensive association might be formed, the meeting adjourned to meet at the Astor House, in New York, on Tuesday, March 29th. This meeting was well attended; parties from New England, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, being present. By invitation from the meeting, a delegation from the "Iron Founders' Union, of New York and vicinity," met with it, and as at the previous meeting, the unanimous feeling was that the necessity of an organization of the employers must be apparent to all, who desire to manage their own business, without being controlled by outside "Committees" or "Strikes" and that such an organization would be beneficial to both them and their employees; and after some discussion it was decided to extend this association so as to include employers of floor molders throughout the country, and a committee was appointed to present to the next meeting, a revised constitution and by-laws, and board of officers; and the secretary was instructed to issue an invitation to all parties (whose address he obtained), employing either bench or floor molders, to attend the next meeting. The meeting then adjourned to meet at the Astor House, New York city, on Tuesday, April 19th, 1864, at 3 o'clock, p.m.

You are earnestly invited to be present at that meeting,

as business of importance to all employers of bench or floor molders will be brought before it. If business prevents your attendance at the same, we trust you will confer with the founders in your vicinity, and endeavor to have at least one delegate to this National Association.

In order that the meeting may be acquainted with your views of this important subject, you will confer a great favor if you will sign one of the within replies and mail in the enclosed envelope as early a day as convenient (this week if possible, enclosing two dollars, if you desire to join the Association, as your membership fee, as provided in its constitution). Very respectfully yours,

HENRY A. WARNER, Secretary of the Association.

(3) Michigan.

Fincher's Trades' Review, July 8, 1865.

Employers' Private Circular. Received by the Underground Railroad.

Detroit, Mich., May 29, 1865.

DEAR SIR: I send you to-day, by mail, a printed notice, expressive of the position taken by all the principal foundries here, and in the vicinity, with regard to employing molders belonging to, or acting with, Molders' Unions. We commend the action set forth in the notice to your earnest consideration.

Nearly all the foundries in this city are connected with Machine and Blacksmith Shops, which, altogether, constitute one establishment. These establishments, or such of them as are of importance, act in concert in all matters of common interest. We classify work, and agree on minimum rates. We classify labor, and agree on maximum wages. If a man honorably leaves one establishment, and offers his services to another, the latter, if it sets him at work, pays him no more than the first, until being satisfied, on full trial, that he is fairly entitled to more, never exceeding, however, the

maximum rates. If an employee leaves one establishment, on a "strike," all other establishments refuse to employ him at all, so long as he holds out. It is also contrary to our rules for one establishment to employ an apprentice coming from another establishment before his indented time has expired.

It seems to us here, that were such rules in force between the establishments of the different cities of the country, the result would be greatly to our mutual advantage. Enclosed, I hand you a list of molders, who "struck" here not long since, because their wages were reduced from three dollars to two dollars and seventy-five cents per day. I raise and submit the question, whether it is good policy for establishments, in other cities, to give them employment, in case they apply for it – the object being to break up the habit of "striking" without cause, and so break up the factious interference of the Trades' Unions. In this, we presume, you agree with us.

We, of this city, are impressed with importance of employers forming counter organizations, as a means of protection against the evils and abuses of these meddlesome unions, the former being made co-extensive with the latter. Granting this to be so, the question is, how can this best be done? Several plans have been suggested:

1. The formation of associations in every city where the aforenamed establishments exist, leaving it for these separate associations to regulate by treaty all matters which concern them in common.

2. The formation of a national association with a branch in each city, where an establishment is located – the national association to act on matters of common interest.

3. The formation of local associations, as above; and then let these local associations, which are similarly situated, or the elements of whose business are so much alike as to admit of it, form a general association, or a kind of congress, to be composed of delegates, chosen by the local associations, on a basis of representation, which shall be fair and equal. Some are of the opinion that this congress should have power to regulate and fix, from time to time, the minimum price to be charged for work, and the maximum rate to be paid as wages; and to establish rules respecting "strikes" and "strikers," runaway apprentices, and the like.

It is believed, that all the Lake Cities, and such as are on their connecting rivers, might properly be brought under the same congress, and perhaps Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Louisville and St. Louis, should be included.

A like congress, or general association, might be formed by the associations in the cities of Portland, Boston, Hartford, New Haven, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Albany, Troy, and many others, which are situated substantially alike as to the cost of living, the price of stock, and of labor.

These two congresses, the eastern and western, might adopt the same rules respecting "strikers," runaway apprentices, and trades' unions.

It is the prevailing opinion here, that if the establishments in the various cities, east and west, will adopt and carry out the policy of not giving employment to runaway apprentices, or to journeymen going from one place or establishment to another, on a "strike," it would arrest and overcome the principal mischief resulting from the trades' unions, if not effectually break them up as organizations. It is obvious, that such a step would at least operate as an efficient check on the practice of

"striking" without cause, and against reason. It appeals, then, with great force to our early attention.

The third plan above suggested, receives the approval of the establishments of this city, and of the east, so far as we are advised.

In conclusion, let me urgently request you to reply to this communication as soon as convenient, and in your reply, state your views in the premises, and also as to the expediency of calling a convention of the employers, connected with the aforesaid establishments, in the west; and if you deem such a call expedient, when, where, and how, should it be made?

By order of the Executive Committee of the Iron Workers' Association of Detroit. Respectfully and truly yours, WM. WARNER, Chairman.

(b) BUILDING TRADES

Fincher's Trades' Review, Feb. 20, 1864.

TO THE ARCHITECTS, MASONS AND BUILDERS OF NEW YORK: At a Special Meeting of the Boss Plasterers' Protective Association, held at their rooms, No. 150 Fourth Avenue, on Monday evening, 25th ult., the following preamble and resolutions having been adopted by the Society, we would respectfully submit them for your consideration.

WHEREAS, the members of the Journeymen Plasterers' Operative Society, through the columns of the public press, given notice to the several boss plasterers of New York, that on and after the 1st day of February next, they will demand twenty shillings per day, the main object of which, should they be successful in enforcing it, is to pave the way for more arbitrary measures, such as abolishing the present mode of lathing, which gives employment to several and forwards the interests of the business to a considerable extent, which

purpose is a violation, not only of those who are at present employed at lathing, but also of the boss plasterers.

AND WHEREAS, the members of the Journeymen Plasterers' Operative Society may at any time enforce any rate of wages that may be agreed upon by their association, without giving the boss plasterers a reasonable and sufficient notice thereof.

AND WHEREAS, we, the boss plasterers, have not only the interests of the journeymen plasterers to take care of, but also the interest of those employed at lathing, and also of the apprentices learning the trade of plastering, and that it is for the protection of those various interests that your committee will suggest the propriety of the boss plasterers, now members of this society, and of all who may hereafter become members, of using every reasonable means of subverting the members of the Journeymen's Society from enforcing the unreasonable demands they at present have in contemplation. Your committee would also state that it is not from any course of vindictive feeling they propose the above measures, but seeing the prospects for the coming season not warranting such an unreasonable demand.

Therefore, we would respectfully suggest that the boss plasterers do unite and bind themselves to resist each and every unjust measure at present in existence in the Journeymen Plasterers' Association, by placing their signatures to this preamble, if approved by the Association.

And it is unanimously Resolved, that we will not comply with the demand of twenty shillings per day as put forth by the journeymen plasterers, deeming the present rate of wages sufficient for the demand thereof.

And in conclusion, be it further Resolved, we would invite the co-operation of the several Boss Masons to

sustain us in all purposes which may operate to our mutual interests.

(c) SHIP BUILDERS

Fincher's Trades' Review, April 2, 1864.

Whereas, the various departments of mechanical and other labor, dependent upon our inland lakes for employment, having banded themselves together by the most solemn pledges, under various titles of associations, and under such organizations, have instituted various arbitrary rules of dictation, to both employers and owners, rendering themselves obnoxious and detrimental to every interest of those who contribute to their welfare. The instability and uncertainty of the movements of these associations, together with their extremely dictatorial rules, which they are determined to enforce upon their employers, and all interested, prompt a movement on our part for our own preservation and self-defence. We, therefore, as owners of vessels, ask you to lend us your aid and council by your co-operation with us in our efforts to destroy in its bud an impending evil. We do not array ourselves against labor—would on the other hand foster it to the end—but the unions which have sprung up in our midst, and the positions being taken, are frightful in the extreme, and none can foretell the evil that will sooner or later grow out of them, if we sit still and deal out nourishment to them, and continue to submit to the ruinous and monstrously exhorbitant demands they are constantly making upon our property and purses, totally regardless of our pecuniary ability to meet such demands. The day is not far distant, when they will modestly ask an equal distribution of the property itself, if not arrested at this point. It is a fearful state of things, when any Society (what ever may be its object) asserts that this man or that, shall not be

employed unless he first becomes a member of their union – and menace him if he does not leave the work; and that they shall further dictate to the employer, who and who not he shall employ, without reference to ability or worth. Our purpose now is, to ask of you to refrain from the employment of any man upon your vessels here, to make repairs, at a greater rate of wages than those established by the Convention of Owners, held in this city on the tenth inst., viz: two dollars and fifty cents per day, cash – and, secondly, not to employ any man who is a member of the "Ship Carpenters' and Caulkers' Union," until he shall abandon the same (while they continue to work under their present arbitrary rules and regulations), and further, to instruct your Masters not to employ or aid any member of such Association – and if necessary to forward our efforts in this great cause, to abandon all repairs that can possibly be avoided, and procure the same at some other port – provided the same cannot be accomplished here by men who are not members of said association.

Our ship-yards are gradually filling up with good men from abroad, who are willing to work faithfully without any restrictions whatever, and for remunerative wages, viz: two dollars and fifty cents per day. A little indulgence on your part will greatly aid us in the destruction of an effort on the part of the Association that will, if submitted to by us, be a blow to our pecuniary interests from which we can never recover.

We purpose forming a permanent association to be known as "the Ship Owners' and Ship Builders' Association of Buffalo," of which an adjourned meeting will be held on Tuesday next, March 15, at 2 o'clock, p.m., at number 4 E. Swan Street.

We have the hearty co-operation of the N.Y. Central,

N.Y. and Erie, W.T. Company, Evans and Company, and other propeller lines, together with a large number of vessel-owners who have taken hold with alacrity. We ask your attendance and co-operation either in person or by letter. Yours very respectfully,

D. P. DOBBINS, Chairman.
THOS. D. DOLE, Secretary.

Buffalo, March 12, 1864.

The foregoing circular is fully endorsed as follows: John Allen Jr., president W.T. Company; T. D. Dole, agent N.Y.C. Line Propellers; S. D. Caldwell, agent N.Y. and E. Railroad Propellers; Charles Ensign, proprietor People's Line Propellers; E. T. Evans and Company, proprietor Evans' Line Propellers, and other owners of propellers in port, together with the representation of one hundred and sixty-seven vessels.

(d) RAILROADS

Fincher's Trades' Review, June 4, 1864.

IMPORTANT. Office of the G. and C.U. Railroad Company [Galena and Chicago Union] Chicago, May 2, 1864.

To——, Esq;

DEAR SIR: The subjoined resolutions were adopted by the Board of Directors of this company on the twentieth ult., and the following copy thereof is respectfully presented:

RESOLVED, that the management of railroads is vested in the Board of Directors, who are elected by the stockholders, to manage and control the interest and business of such corporations, and are by them held responsible for the proper discharge of their duties. Any and all combinations of any number or class of employees attempting, or threatening to usurp any portion of this

control, endangers the value of all property invested in railroads.

RESOLVED, that we fully recognize the principle that the rights of employees should never be violated; that if by improper treatment, inadequate or insufficient wages, or uncertainty of payment of the same, they are injuriously affected, the right belongs to them to seek individually, more satisfactory terms elsewhere; but no railway management can recognize as a right, any dictation as to the wages they shall pay, the rules or regulations they shall adopt, or whom they shall or shall not employ; and societies used to prevent free action of either party in these particulars, if unchecked, would not only destroy all value in railroad property, but would strike a destructive blow to the commercial and agricultural prosperity of the entire country.

RESOLVED, that in the enhanced expenses of living, we recognize the propriety of increasing wages, and approve of the action inaugurated by the executive officers of this road, to take effect the beginning of this year, for such a judicious increase as would be both fair and equitable, as between the stockholders we represent, and the men we employ; and that we remember with dissatisfaction, the advantages taken by the engineers at the close of the past year when this was being considered, and at a time when such large property interests were imperiled by the storm, for the presentation of a demand discourteously expressed, for an increase of pay to all, whether merited or not; and, further, we approve of the circular issued, to take effect March 1, 1864, both as an indication that the executive officers of the road under this board were disposed to assume, and vindicate that control properly belonging to those who own the road, and as showing a disposition on their part to so equalize

and regulate the labor and its remuneration, that a few over-bearing and over-officious engineers could no longer claim the highest pay for the least work, to the disadvantage of those who were ready and willing to perform their duty.

RESOLVED, that we not only approve, we congratulate the president, general superintendent and assistant superintendent upon their success in having brought order out of threatened chaos; and we commend the firmness and decision with which they assumed and maintained a correct position, which has resulted in a proper control of the property entrusted to their care.

RESOLVED, that while it may be possible for organizations to be formed, whose purposes shall be "to elevate the standing of engineers as such, and their characters as men," they are always in danger of being controlled by designing men for their own sinister purposes, and of being brought into collision with a proper management of railroads, thus jeopardizing the interests of both parties, as has been developed by the organization known as "The Brotherhood of the Footboard," and we recommend to all engineers who have any character, as men, to unite with the managers of all railroads in discountenancing and discontinuing this combination, which has benefited none, but threatened to be a fertile source of injury to all.

RESOLVED, that we hereby tender our thanks to the managers of railroads centering in Chicago for their assistance and co-operation, and for their prompt rejection of impracticable terms of dictation, and also to managers of roads in Eastern States, for their aid in supplying us with engineers worthy of their positions. In our opinion a great and lasting benefit has been effected not to our road alone, but to all other railroads

wherever located, and to the vast interests of the whole country dependent upon railroads for prosperity.

RESOLVED, that the secretary prepare copies of these resolutions, one to be presented to the General Superintendent, one to the assistant superintendent, and one to each of the superintendents of roads centering in Chicago, also to the officers of eastern roads who have rendered to this company their valuable aid and co-operation. Very respectfully your ob'dt. serv't,

W. M. L., Secretary.

(e) AN ATTEMPTED GENERAL ASSOCIATION

Fincher's Trades' Review, Aug. 13, 1864. From Detroit *Tribune*, July 25, 1864. Employers' General Association of Michigan.

. . . Whereas, we, the undersigned citizens of ——, and interested as owners, or managing agents, in manufacturing or mechanical business, find the following state of things to exist in relation to our various pursuits, that is to say: the workingmen have, for a long time, been associated together in thorough organizations known as "Trade Unions." And, however laudable the motives may have been, in which these "Unions" originated, they have at length come to assume a dangerous attitude, and to act a disorganizing and ruinous part. For example: they assume to dictate to employers, and the employed, the rates of wages to be demanded and paid; what men may be employed, and what number of apprentices; who shall be discharged, and who retained; when, and on what terms our establishments and business may be operated and carried on, or stopped, always vigilant to take advantage of the shifting condition of business and work on hand and having apparently little or no regard to the justice or proprieties of the case, and enforcing their demands, as

against the employers, by "strikes," and, as against workingmen by both contributions and threats.

As a natural result of this system of general and persistent interference our business is thrown into a condition of much uncertainty. Its essential relations are seriously deranged. Businesslike calculations and arrangements, especially such as involve prices for work, and time of completion and delivery, are thus rendered quite impracticable. We cannot enter into contracts for work of importance, or proceed with it with any degree of safety, either to ourselves or patrons.

This is not all. These "Unions" prescribe a uniform rate of wages for each workman of any particular trade. For instance, they decree that each molder shall be paid a given sum per day; each finisher another sum; each blacksmith another; each common laborer another, and so on with every class.

The pernicious consequences, resulting to labor as well as to employers, from these uniform rates are such as should be expected. Discriminations, in favor of skill and efficiency, are, in a great measure excluded. The bungler and laggard is placed on the same footing as the skillful and efficient. Merit receives no recognition or reward; indeed, it is ignored. As a natural result, the motive for exertion is taken away. The man of skill and natural energy sinks down into the habits of the bungler and inefficient. Original gifts, being deprived of a principal incentive, remain undeveloped. In this way, skill and merit are depressed, and labor is reduced both in quality and amount.

It is plain enough to all, who will give the matter a moment of candid thought, that the evils here spoken of must, in some way, be arrested and overcome, or the inducements for attempting to continue our business

are taken away, and our establishments must shut down. In this event would be involved consequences to the employed, the employer, and the public, far more serious than mere idleness, stopping of business, and lack of mechanical productions. If continued for any considerable time, it must result in wide-spread beggary, with all its attending evils—suffering, bread-riots, pillage and taxation.

Let not our position be misapprehended or misstated. We feel assured that a great majority of workingmen are well-disposed, and were they to act freely, in accordance with their own instinctive good sense, they would not be found rushing to such extremes, but would continue steady at their calling, being well pleased with wages which are abundantly just and equal. But, unfortunately, they are not permitted so to live and act. They come in contact with others of a different make and temper—uneasy spirits, pregnant with the leaven of discontent, and whose words, constantly dropping, are full of the seeds of trouble. They are more or less affected by the association. They are led to join the "Trade Unions" by dint of the tempting promise, that, by joint thought and action, they will better their condition. Here their prejudices are all the time wrought upon. The object is to make them feel that they have not properly estimated their rights, or even known what they really are; that their toil has not been justly rewarded; that they have been ground down, and their real importance and value not acknowledged or felt. These ever-recurring representations and appeals, addressed to passions more easily inflamed than any other, are, of course, not without effect. These confiding men become enlisted. They are led on from one step to another, till at length they are fully committed. An increase of

wages, or the discharge of certain men or promising apprentice boys is proposed, decided on, and demanded. These men go with the rest, being hurried on by the excitement of the occasion, by the maddening influence of sympathy, or by ill-regulated zeal for a common cause. A strike follows. Work stops. These men are idle. Their wages are already nearly or quite consumed. The wants of a wife and children press upon them, as well as their own. They begin to reflect and relent; and the more they reflect, the more they relent. They say that they have been deceived and misled; that they have been well dealt by, and that they are in the wrong, quite as much to their own interests as towards their employers. They desire to return to work at former rates. They feel that they must. They say that they will. But now up steps a ringleader, and with threats and abuse, dilates on their duty of fidelity to the "Unions"—reproaches them with odious epithets, calling them cowards, sneaks, traitors, and threatening to break their heads or burn their houses, if they go to work on terms different from those decreed by the "Union." They are intimidated and shrink back.

Now be it observed once for all, that we cordially accept the principle that "the laborer is worthy of his hire"—that he should be remunerated for his labor, and so treated and provided for in general arrangements of society and of the body politic, as to enable him by diligence and fair economy, to place himself and those dependent on him on a footing of intellectual and social equality with others. But, on the other hand, while we not only recognize this principle as true and fundamental, but insist on it, assume it and act on it in practice, we at the same time feel called upon by a sense of justice to ourselves and of duty in our character as citi-

zens, to firmly remonstrate against these growing evils and abuses, and make all reasonable efforts to correct them, and restore our business to a more settled state.

And whereas, being well persuaded,

1. That if the better disposed class of men, when taking the sober second thought in manner stated, could but see a strong, intelligent and influential body of employers thoroughly organized and standing prepared to afford them protection on their resuming work, they would gladly break loose from the "Union" and come back to remain contented, steady and prosperous. And

2. That if workmen should know that employers, here and elsewhere are thus organized, standing firm on honorable grounds, they would be very slow to join "Unions," and be very ready to withdraw from them, if in, so soon as they become instruments of mischief. Consequently the "Unions" in such event, would be soon broken up, or at least lose their power for evil. These ringleaders, now so disorganizing and so troublesome, would be deserted, nay scouted and cast off. Labor would be governed by just and natural rules, instead of faction and caprice; and our various business would assume a condition as settled as these strangely anomalous times will admit of.

And whereas, actuated by these views, and to accomplish these important ends, several classes of owners and managing agents of our number have already organized associations under appropriate articles.

And whereas, it is now proposed that to the same end, all owners and managing agents of the kind herein named, associate themselves together according to their several branches of business, to form distinct and coordinate organizations under thoughtfully considered constitutions, and that the same be auxiliaries of a gen-

eral association formed of all the various owners and managing agents united; and that such general association be vested with visitorial powers over the auxiliaries, and also with appellate jurisdiction in cases arising between auxiliaries, and between an auxiliary and any of its members.

Now, therefore, we, owners and managing agents aforesaid, do hereby associate ourselves together to form a general association.

II

NATIONAL LABOR UNION

1. PRIOR EFFORTS TOWARD NATIONAL ORGANIZATION

(a) THE MACHINISTS AND BLACKSMITHS, 1861

Resolution of the International Union of Machinists and Blacksmiths, from their *Proceedings*, Nov., 1861. The committee, consisting of the president, the vice-president, and the secretary, was appointed. In 1864 the Iron-molders' International Union took similar action, but no organization resulted.

. . . Whereas, there are many localities within the jurisdiction of the National Union, where machinists and blacksmiths are employed, but not in sufficient numbers to sustain a union, in accordance with the constitution of this union; and whereas, other trades are similarly situated in the same localities, thereby prostrating the union sentiment therein; in order, therefore, to secure the co-operation of our fellow-craftsmen, be it

RESOLVED, that this National Union appoint a committee, to consist of —— members of this union, to request the appointment of a similar committee from other national or grand bodies (of Trade Unions) to meet them, fully empowered to form a National Trades Assembly, to facilitate the advancement of the interests of labor, by organizing subordinate trades assemblies in such localities where separate trade union movements are impracticable, said subordinate trade assemblies to possess such powers and privileges as the National Trades Assembly may ordain. . .

(b) THE INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL ASSEMBLY OF NORTH AMERICA, 1864

(1) The Call.

This call appeared as a communication from the Trades' Assembly and League of Friendship, of Louisville, Kentucky, addressed to *Fincher's Trades' Review*, and first published August 13, 1864. The proceedings were printed in *Fincher's Trades' Review*, October 15, 1864, p. 80. Only one session was held.

To the Officers and Members of the Trades' Assemblies that are now organized on the Continent of America, or that may be organized before the twenty-first of September.

GENTLEMEN: As our notice, which has been inserted in *Fincher's Trades' Review* for the last three months, has failed to elicit a correspondence from all the Trades' Assemblies that are now organized, we are forced to adopt this method of communicating with you in regard to calling an international convention of the trades' assemblies of the United States and Canada.

We think great results would be produced by organizing ourselves into an international body. Are not capitalists and employers of almost every city organizing themselves into unions, and is it not patent to every one that their object is the overthrow of our organizations? Are we to shrink with fear when we behold this spectacle? We answer, no; but it should stimulate us to powerful exertion; we ought to work with renewed energy and labor zealously to organize the mechanics of every branch, and if necessary, laboring men into protective unions, and draw these unions into international bodies, the same as the molders, machinists and blacksmiths, printers, etc. In a word, the trades' assemblies ought to be the agents through which the mechanics of the different branches will be organized into local unions, and from local unions to international unions.

Suppose that we should be successful in organizing the mechanics of America as above stated: according to our views, the result would be this, viz: should the employers by combination attempt to overthrow any one branch of the trades, the other branches or organizations of mechanics would make the cause of the trade or branch struck at, their cause, and would lend their aid and sympathy to the trade; for if one branch was overthrown, we as a body would be weakened by it, knowing that the next blow struck might be at our branch, hence we are bound to protect each other.

There are many other benefits to be derived by combinations, but we have not the time nor space to mention but one more, and we think that it is sufficient of itself to stir you to action; it is this, combination will do away with strikes, for by combination we will become so powerful that the capitalists or employers will cease to refuse us our just demands, and will, if we make any unreasonable demands, condescend to come down on a level with us, and by argument and positive proof, show to us that our demands are unjust; but this would have to be explained to the satisfaction of the trades' assembly of the city in which the demand was made.

We believe there are over two hundred thousand mechanics now represented in protective unions in the United States and Canada, and that they could be brought under the jurisdiction of the International Trades' Assembly in less than six months.

Gentlemen, we exhort you to send delegates to the convention, it will not cost much, and if you do not think that you will be benefited by it, you can instruct your delegates to withdraw.

We would suggest that Wednesday, the twenty-first of September, be named as the day of assembling, and

that Louisville be the place; we name Louisville for the reason that if we have to correspond with each other, for the purpose of selecting a place, it would take six months to come to an understanding.

We expect that the first convention will adjourn to meet about the first of May, 1865, by this date we expect to see a trades' assembly in nearly every city of the United States and Canada.

Hoping that you will take immediate action on the subject, and that you will proceed to elect one or two delegates to represent you, and immediately notify us of your determination, we remain, fraternally yours,

R. GILCHRIST, Pres.

(2) The Delegates.

Alex. Burleigh, of Evansville, Indiana; William Bailey, St. Louis, Missouri; Thomas C. Knowles, Buffalo, New York; Richard Trevellick, M. Sintzenich, Detroit, Michigan; Robert Gilchrist, C. M. Talmage, Louisville, Kentucky; S. S. Whittier, Boston, Massachusetts; W. H. Gudgeon, E. F. Bigler, Cincinnati, Ohio; J. W. Lafflin, Trades' Union League, St. Louis; John Blake, Chicago.

(3) The Resolutions.

[The Committee on Resolutions (Lafflin and Sintzenich) reported the following, which were adopted except as indicated.]

. . . WHEREAS, education and co-operation being the permanent ground work of social happiness of all who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that we earnestly urge upon all local trade assemblies the propriety of taking immediate action to organize into unions all who labor for support, and impress upon their minds the necessity of immediate co-operation in this great movement of reform.

RESOLVED, that this assembly, in the name of the mechanics and laboring men of our country, do proclaim and will maintain, the right of workingmen to be the [exclusive[17]] judges of the value of their labor, and the compensation they are entitled to receive therefor; that as the creators of wealth they are entitled, equally with capital, to a fair and equal participation in its benefits; and that while we recommend and pledge the utmost moderation and justice in our demands, we utterly deny the right of capitalists to affix a standard of value to wages. We claim this as an inherent right vested in man – a birthright – we pledge our sacred honor as men to maintain, at all hazards, and under all circumstances. But, while thus clearly defining our fundamental rights, as a measure of courtesy and mutual confidence, we would recommend in the adjustment of wages, as a preliminary step, consultation with employing capitalists, with a view to the adoption of a scale of wages which may be mutually satisfactory to both parties.

RESOLVED, that this assembly believe the present a propitious time for the various local trades' assemblies to agitate the justness to all who labor for support, that eight hours should constitute a legal day's work; and that those who have the interest of the laboring element at heart should earnestly canvass this question on all occasions where it does not conflict with other great interests at stake until the mind of the working classes generally be sufficiently imbued with the great advantages, socially and morally, to be derived by this contemplated reform.

RESOLVED, that the payment of wages for labor should be in the lawful currency of the national government, or banks established, recognized and working under state laws; and this assembly strongly condemns the practice

[17] Struck out on amendment. – EDS.

of payment in trade, technically known as the "order system," as a system derogatory to manhood, as opposed to the dignity and rights of the citizen, fraught with injustice and oppression, and which experience has demonstrated as a means to deprive the sons of toil of their just reward; force on them merchandise at enhanced prices, and at such places and on such conditions as the capitalists dictates and his cupidity exacts; therefore, this assembly recommends the mechanics and laboringmen of our country to take such action on this subject as will procure the passage of laws by the state legislatures prohibiting this system of oppression, and making its practice punishable as a misdemeanor.

RESOLVED, that it be enjoined upon the various trades' assemblies to earnestly advocate, through their members, the creation of co-operative stores, thereby procuring to the laboring masses the advantages of the same, and in furtherance of this object the International Industrial Assembly recommend to the various local trades' assemblies the propriety of starting a grocery and provision store as soon as practicable.

RESOLVED, that the exercise of the mechanic arts in the state prisons and penitentiaries by convicted felons, is a practice derogatory to labor, and calculated to reduce its value, and is opposed to the rights and dignity of free men, and as such ought to be abolished; and we recommend workingmen to support no candidate for the legislative halls of our country unless pledged to the abolition of this system.

RESOLVED, that arrangements should be made as soon as practicable to hold a series of mass meetings in different sections of our country, on the subject and principles of protective and co-operative labor organizations.

RESOLVED, that the recent efforts of various trades' assemblies to ameliorate the condition of the sewing women, by organizing them into unions for their common protection, under the auspices and countenance of the local trades' assemblies, is deserving our highest praise, and we recommend to the various assemblies a further and general prosecution of this important reform, that a great social canker may be removed from our midst by those who, in occupation and sympathy, should be first and foremost in helping the poor, the helpless and oppressed of the weaker sex.

[The convention endorsed *Fincher's Trades' Review*, the *Workingman's Advocate* of Chicago, and the Buffalo *Sentinel*; and asked help for the printers locked out by the Chicago *Times*.]

(4) The Constitution.

PREAMBLE. Whereas, we recognize in the present aggressive attitude of capital, a combined effort to crush out the independence and enslave the working masses; and

WHEREAS, we find that the capitalists have banded themselves together in secret organization, for the express purpose of crushing out our manhood; and

WHEREAS, capital has assumed to itself the right to own and control labor for the accomplishment of its own greedy and selfish ends, regardless of the laws of nature, and of nature's God; and

WHEREAS, experience has demonstrated the utility of concentrated effort in arriving at specific ends; and it is an evident fact that if the dignity of labor is to be preserved, it must be done by our united action; and,

WHEREAS, believing the truth of the following maxims, "That they who would be free, themselves must

strike the blow," "That in union there is strength," and "That self-preservation is the first law of nature," and calling upon God to witness the rectitude of our intention, we, the delegates here assembled, do ordain and establish the following Constitution for the government of the International Industrial Assembly, established for the purpose of carrying out the object herein contemplated, assisting and encouraging the laboring classes in all sections to stand up manfully for their rights, and to elevate themselves to the condition of society to which their great importance justly entitles them. . .

ARTICLE 1—TITLE AND OBJECTS: *Section* 1—This body shall be known and designated as the "International Industrial Assembly of North America."

Section 2—Its objects shall be,

First—The elevation, socially and morally, of the position of the Working Classes of North America.

Second—To use all means consistent with our honor and integrity, to so correct the abuses under which the working classes are laboring, as to insure to them their just rights and privileges.

Third—To use our utmost endeavors to impress upon the various producing classes the necessity of a close and thorough organization, and form themselves into local unions, wherever practicable.

Fourth—To use every honorable means in our power to adjust difficulties that may arise between employers and workmen; to labor assiduously for the development of a plan of action that may be mutually beneficial to both parties; to use our influence to discountenance strikes, except when they become absolutely necessary, and to devise the best manner of supporting such organizations as may be driven to the necessity of resorting to such means to force a recognition of their rights.

ARTICLE II – MEMBERSHIP. *Section* 1 – This assembly shall be composed of delegates from each organized Workingman's Assembly of North America.

Section 2 – Each organized Workingman's Assembly shall be entitled to send as many delegates as they may see fit, but in no case shall such assembly be entitled to more than one vote in this International Assembly. . .

2. BALTIMORE CONGRESS, AUGUST, 1866

(a) PRELIMINARY CONFERENCE, MARCH, 1866

Daily Evening Voice (Boston), March 30, 1866, p. 3, col. 6.

The conference on this subject, held at New York on Monday last, was attended by the following representatives only: coachmakers, Wm. Harding, New York; tailors, Wm. Cashman, New York; molders, Isaac S. Neale, Jersey City; printers, Mr. Whalley, Washington, D.C.; carpenters, John Reed, Jersey City; curriers, N. H. Crane, Newark; machinists and blacksmiths, Mr. Emmons, Washington, and A. J. Morris, New York; plumbers, M. Stephens, New York; dry goods clerks, J. H. Foy, New York, and Wm. Evans, carpenter, Waterbury, Conn.

The representatives were all from New York and New Jersey, with the exception of two from Washington and one from Connecticut. They passed resolutions that a National Convention be held in Baltimore, Md., on the twentieth of August, 1866, and requesting the different Unions to respond by sending delegates – recommending that each local organization be allowed one representative, and each Trades' Assembly two.

A committee, consisting of Messrs. Harding and Foy of New York and Reed of Jersey City, were appointed to act in conjunction with the Baltimore Trades' Assembly in carrying out the plan for calling the convention. It was voted to tax the unions represented in the conference to pay for the advertising necessary to assemble the convention. It was also voted that the consideration of the eight-hour question should be the principal busi-

ness of the convention, but other business should also receive due consideration. . .

(b) PROCEEDINGS

(1) Delegates and Officers.
Workingman's Advocate, Sept. 1, 1866, pp. 1, 4.

Andrew Schroeder, Ship Carpenters' and Caulkers' Protective Union, St. Louis, Mo.; Thomas M. Dolan, Henry George, Wm. H. Stewart, Grand Eight Hour League, Detroit, Mich.; John Hinchcliffe, Railroad Men's Protective Union, Painters' Union, and Machinery Moulders' Union of St. Louis, and Miners' Lodge of Illinois; James Ashworth, Workingmen's Union of St. Louis; Isaac Cline, Window Glassblowers' Union, Birmingham, Pa.; D. D. Bolsom [Bolson, Balsom, Balson, Balston?], Mechanics' Association, Norfolk, Va.; Thomas S. Denham, Housepainters' Union, Washington, D.C.; J. D. Pheall, Masons' Union, Newburgh, N.Y.; Alfred W. Phelps, Trades' Union, New Haven, Conn.; C. W. Gibson, Eight Hour Association, New Haven, Conn.; W. Harding, Coachmakers' International Union, Brooklyn, N.Y.; J. D. Ware, Coachmakers' International Union, Philadelphia, Pa.; T. E. Hughes, Marble Cutters' Association, Boston, Mass.; Jacob J. Alfred, Trades' Assembly, New Albany, Ind.; Wm. B. Iles, Iron Moulders' Union, Augusta and Savannah, Ga.; A. C. Cameron, Trades' Assembly, Chicago, and Grand Eight Hour League of Ill.; R. L. Mastin [Maston?], Trades' Assembly, Wilmington, Del.; Richard Emmons, Workingmen's Convention, Washington, D.C.; M. J. Hannan, Bricklayers' Beneficial and Protective Union, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Jas. H. Reed, House Carpenters' Trades' Union, Washington, D.C.; Wm. C. C. Clark, Granite Cutters' Association, Washington, D.C.; J. C. C. Whaley, Workingmen's Convention,

Washington, D.C.; John Reid, Workingmen's Union, New York City, N.Y.; James J. Mitchell, Journeymen Stonecutters' Association, Washington, D.C.; John Thomas, Blank-book Binders' Protective Union, New York; Wm. J. Jessup, Shipjoiner's Union, New York, N.Y.; L. D. Cogswell, Carpenters', Joiners' and Machinists' Union, Lowell, Mass.; Alexander Troup, Workingmen's Assembly, Boston, Mass.; John W., Cooper, Shipjoiners' Union, Baltimore; Gilman Bond [sc. Rand], Bookbinders' Union, Boston; William P. Blades, Blacksmiths' Union, Baltimore; J. R. Bolan, Ship Carpenters' Union, Boston; George H. Spaulding, Iron Moulders' Union, Boston; George W. Francis, Bookbinders' Association, D.C.; Wm. H. Lee, Iron Moulders' Association, Richmond, Va.; E. Schläger,[18] German Workingmen's Association, Chicago, Ill. J. J. Doane, Workingmen's Union, New York City; Robert B. Blake, Carpenters' and Joiners' Union, Philadelphia. John H. Meeter, Eight Hour League, Iowa; Marshall Roberts, Trades' Assembly, Philadelphia.

BALTIMORE DELEGATES – Hugh Potter, Journeymen Coopers' Union; E. F. Flaherty, Journeymen Shipwrights' Union; Wm. Neadhamer, House Painters' Union; Thomas Barnett, House and Ship Painters No. 2; Isaiah Brown, Wood Turners' Union; James B. Overton and James Hyland, Trades' Assembly; Thomas S. Everett, Harness Makers' Union; A. P. Judge, Pattern Makers' Union; Charles E. Wilson, Canmakers' Union; J. Edward Kirby, Bricklayers' Union; J. W. Storey, Iron Moulders' Union; Thomas B. Griffin, Operative Masons' Benevolent Union; James A. Mifflin,

[18] Variously given as Schleger, Schlaeger, Schläger. F. A. Sorge, in "Die Arbeiterbewegung in den Vereinigten Staaten," gives the name as Schlegel. See *Neue Zeit* (Stuttgart, 1890-1891) vol. ii, 442. – EDS.

Machinists' Union; James Hyland, Trades' Assembly; Philip Auld, Shipwrights' Union; John W. Cooper, House Carpenters' Union; G. W. Maynard, Millwrights' Union; Thomas B. Brian, Curriers' Association; P. W. Ford, National Union of Curriers; Wm. G. Miller, Shipjoiners' Association. . .

[Permanent Officers:] president, John Hinchcliffe, of Illinois; vice president at large, J. C. C. Whaley, of Washington, D.C.; vice presidents, W. Cather, of Maryland; R. Emmons, of Washington, D.C.; John Reed, of New York; A. W. Phelps of Connecticut; Wm. B. Iles, of Georgia; R. L. Mastin, of Delaware; W. H. Lee, of Virginia; A. H. Troup, of Massachusetts; A. C. Cameron, of Illinois; J. M. Dolan, of Michigan; A. Schroeder, of Missouri; Marshall Roberts, of Pennsylvania; J. Alfred, of Indiana; J. H. Meeter, of Iowa. Secretaries, C. W. Gibson, of Connecticut, J. B. Overton, of Maryland, and J. D. Ware, of Pennsylvania. . .

[Officers elected for ensuing year: President, J. C. C. Whaley; vice-president at large, E. Schläger; vice-presidents from different states represented, Massachusetts, Alexander Troup; Maryland, William Cather; Pennsylvania, Marshall Roberts; District of Columbia, Richard Emmons; Delaware, R. L. Mastin; New York, W. J. Jessup; Indiana, Jacob J. Alfred; Michigan, Thomas M. Dolan; Missouri, James Ashworth; Illinois, A. C. Cameron; Iowa, James McKim; Georgia, William B. Iles; Virginia, D. B. Balsom; Connecticut, A. W. Phelps; recording secretary, James B. Overton, Baltimore; assistant recording secretary, William H. Lee, Richmond, Virginia; corresponding secretary, C. W. Gibson, New Haven, Connecticut; assistant corresponding secretary, Henry George, Detroit, Michigan; financial committee, Thomas S. Everett, Baltimore; James

Ashworth, Missouri; William Baldwin, New York City.]

(2) Reports of Committees, and Resolutions.

Mr. A. C. Cameron, of Illinois, chairman of the committee on trades' unions and strikes, presented the following report:

Your committee on Trades' Unions and Strikes recognizing as a fundamental truth that in "union there is strength," and believing also that all reforms in the labor movement can only be effected by an intelligent, systematic effort of the industrial classes, and believing also that that effort can at present best be directed through the trades' organizations, your committee would recommend the formation of unions in all localities where the same do not now exist, and the formation of an international organization in every branch of industry as a first and most important duty of the hour, and claim that no man has performed his duty, either to himself, his family, or his fellow-workmen, who has heretofore neglected or refused to do so.

Believing also that, the efforts of the convention should be directed to devise the most available and practicable means by which this united action may be obtained, and knowing that a large number of our skilful mechanics are excluded from these organizations by past delinquencies, which it would be judicious to overlook, we would recommend that an invitation be extended to all such to enroll themselves in the grand army of labor, and that all local unions be urgently requested to extend the olive branch of peace, and receive such applicants in the spirit of conciliation and fraternal regard; that the first of January, 1867, be named as the time when such opportunity shall expire by limitation.

Your committee would also suggest that a more rigid

enforcement of the apprenticeship system should be enforced, believing that such action would redound to our interests, as our trades' unions are, or should be, organized upon the principle of rendering a *quid pro quo*, an equivalent for value received; and so long as botches are recognized as competent workmen, this principle is virtually ignored.

They would also suggest that as there are a great many laborers who do not form a part of trades' unions, and as it is desirable to bring all within the ranks of the labor movement, that a general workingmen's association be recognized as belonging to the general organization, and its delegates entitled to seats in any future labor congress.

Your committee would also recommend the establishment of mechanics' institutes, lyceums and reading rooms wherever practicable, and that institutes be erected on ground owned by the several labor associations.

With regard to the subject of strikes, your committee give it as their deliberate opinion that they have been productive of great injury to the laboring classes; that many have been injudicious and ill-advised, and the result of impulse rather than principle; that those who have been the fiercest in their advocacy have been the first to advocate submission, and would therefore discountenance them except as a *dernier* resort, and when all means for an amicable and honorable adjustment have been exhausted. Your committee would also recommend the appointment by each trades' assembly of an Arbitration Committee, to whom shall be referred all matters of dispute arising between employees and employers, believing that the earlier adoption of such a system would have prevented a majority of these ill-advised so-called "strikes."

In conclusion, your committee would again refer to the all important question of organization as a panacea for this growing evil, because when every mechanic was enrolled as a member of trades' unions, strikes would become impossibilities.

Neither can this be taken as a menace to employers, knowing as we do that the principle involved is not aggressive but defensive in character, founded on the principles of actual truth and justice. On the contrary they believe it would be the means of creating a bond of sympathy between employee and employer, inaugurating a reign of confidence and mutual esteem, in place of the antagonism and jealousy at present existing. [Adopted.]

[Committee on Co-operative Associations and Prison Labor, Troup, Phelps, Storey, Reed, and Rand:]

RESOLVED, that the delegates to the National Labor Congress on their return to their different constituencies, recommend that petitions be circulated and forwarded to the different legislatures urging upon them a passage of co-operative acts.

RESOLVED, that having considered the matter of convict labor at some length, your committee are of opinion that if convict labor cannot be entirely abolished, that the same compensation should be demanded by the United States and respective states of contractors, contracting for convict labor, as that paid in workshops outside of the prisons; and your committee would respectfully recommend that the workingmen petition congress and their respective legislatures on this subject. [Adopted.]

[By Committee on Permanent National Organization, Blake, Clarke, Gibson, Iles, Mastin, Lee, Reed, Schläger, George, Ashworth, Jessup, Cline, Alfred, McCauley:]

RESOLVED, that this congress organize a permanent

National Labor Union, by selecting the following named officers: a president, one vice president at large, and one vice president from each state, territory and district represented in this congress, the said vice presidents to act as corresponding secretaries for the labor organizations in their respective state; one recording secretary, and one assistant recording secretary, one corresponding secretary, one assistant corresponding secretary, a treasurer, and a finance committee of three. The president shall be authorized to appoint a vice president from the states that are not represented in this congress, as soon as he may find some proper person so to appoint.

RESOLVED, that every Trades' Union, Workingmen's Association, and Eight Hour League, shall be entitled to one delegate in this congress for the first five hundred members, or less, and every additional five hundred, or fractional part thereof, one additional delegate; and every National or International Union shall be represented by one delegate. It shall be the duty of the said delegates of this organization to carry out the acts of the present Labor Congress; to direct agitation and further the interests of the labor movement by all possible means.

The sessions of the Labor Congress shall be annual, and shall be held alternately, in the different sections of the Union, on the third Monday in August. The president, recording secretary, corresponding secretary, vice president at large, and treasurer, shall meet from time to time for the transaction of business. The Executive Board shall have power to levy a tax of twenty-five cents a year upon each member belonging to the National Labor Union.

[Southern Delegates] Mr. J. C. C. Whaley, of the District of Columbia, offered the following:

WHEREAS, it is both desirable and proper that the

whole country should participate in the great labor movement which this convention essays to inaugurate, and whereas, the presence here of delegates from the States of Georgia and Virginia, and the reception of communications from the trades' assembly of Mobile and New Orleans is a source of gratification and usefulness, offering an earnest of their desire and intention to join with us in this attempt to ameliorate the condition of the working classes, therefore

RESOLVED, that we hail with much pleasure the presence here of the delegation from the south, and cordially and fraternally invite the people of that section of our common country to join with us in the movement we have undertaken, and to again renew the reciprocal relations so unhappily suspended in the lamentable civil strife through which we have recently passed. [Adopted.]

[By committee on "eight hours," and politics, Hyland, Francis, Phelps, Iles, Mastin, Bolson, Cogswell, Cameron, Schläger, Hannan, Roberts, Alfred, McCauley, Dolan:]

We, your committee appointed to bring before you some plan for accomplishing the great object of this Convention – the shortening of the hours of physical labor – report the following preamble and resolutions:

WHEREAS, there comes from the ranks of labor a demand for more time for moral, intellectual and social culture, and believing that this demand is the result of that condition of progress in which the workingmen of this nation are prepared to take a step higher in the scale of moral and intellectual life; therefore

RESOLVED, that it be enjoined upon the members of this congress, as they reach their respective homes, to use all honorable means to agitate the "eight hour" question, publicly and privately, and to effect some plan of organ-

ization whereby we may secure the combined strength of the workingmen of the nation to effect this great labor reform, believing that all agitations and organizations are the two great levers by which we are to accomplish the great result; that so far as political action is concerned, each locality should be governed by its own policy, whether to run an independent ticket of workingmen, or to use political parties already existing, but, at all events, to cast no vote except for men pledged to the interests of labor. . .

[A lengthy discussion followed on the political question raised, in which the committee was supported by Roberts, Hinchcliffe, Phelps, and Schläger, the last favoring an independent labor party, and opposed by Hyland and Harding. The report was recommitted In the afternoon the committee presented the following amended report:]

WHEREAS, the history and legislation of the past has demonstrated the fact that no confidence whatever can be placed in the pledges or professions of the representatives of existing political parties so far as the interests of the industrial classes are concerned: therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the time has come when the workingmen of the United States should cut themselves aloof from party ties and predilections, and organize themselves into a National Labor Party, the object of which shall be, to secure the enactment of a law making "eight hours" a legal day's work by the national Congress and the several state legislatures, and the election of men pledged to sustain and represent the interests of the industrial classes.

RESOLVED, that the most available means to secure the desired results is by systematic agitation, and the establishment of eight hour leagues, by the labor community

and aid of the public press and public speakers, and this convention recommends to the several delegates that upon their return to their respective homes, they will urge upon their fellow workmen the necessity of immediate organization.

RESOLVED, that in order to carry out the aims and objects of the above resolution, we recommend to every friend of the movement to vote for no candidate not unequivocally pledged to vote for a law making "eight hours" a legal day's work, and in favor of all measures of labor reform.

RESOLVED, that where a workingman is found available for any office, the preference should invariably be given to such a person.

[By the Committee on Resolutions, Cathers, Francis, Phelps, Baldwin, Iles, Mastin, Bolson, Troup, Cameron, Stewart, Ashworth, Dalzell, Alfred, McCauley:]

WHEREAS, The growing and alarming encroachments of capital upon the rights of the industrial classes of the United States have rendered it imperative that they should calmly and deliberately devise the most effective and available means by which the same may be arrested, your committee would recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:

RESOLVED, that the first and grand desideratum of the hour, in order to deliver the labor of the country from this thraldom, is the adoption of a law whereby eight hours shall constitute a legal day's work in every state of the American union, and that they are determined never to relax their efforts.

[On the fourth day the vote was reconsidered, and the report recommitted "to meet the views of the delegates opposing it." The committee recommended the addition of the following words to the first resolution; and

the report, with this amendment, was adopted with one negative vote.] "In view of this fact, we, the representatives of the workingmen of America, in Congress assembled, recommend that steps be taken to form the same [a national labor party], and which shall be put in operation as soon as possible."

[After a prolonged discussion the amended report was adopted by the following vote:] Ayes—Messrs. Gibson and Phelps of Ct.; Reed, Francis, Denham, Emmons, D.C.; Iles of Ga.; Alfred of Ind.; Cameron, Schläger and Hinchcliffe of Ill.; McCauley of Iowa; Spalding, Troup, Bolan, Rand and Reed of Mass.; Overton, Blades, Wilson, Griffin and Judge of Md.; Dolan, George and Stewart of Mich.; Schroeder and Ashworth of Mo.; Hammond [Hannan?], Jessup, Thomas, Reed, Harding, Mapes of N.Y.; J. D. Ware and Armstrong of Pa.—making 35.

Nays—Messrs. Maston of Va.; Clarke and Whaley, Kirby, Cather, Cooper, Everett, Potter, Flaherty [Flarety] and Sapp of Md.; Balsom [?] of N.Y.; Glass, Verner, Dalzell and Roberts of Pa.; Balsom, Lee and Forth of Va.—making 24. . .

RESOLVED, that it is the imperative duty of every workingman in the United States to connect himself with his labor organization, if any exists; and where none exists, to immediately commence the formation of the same; that it is the equal duty of every union to be represented in a trades' or workingmen's assembly, and also to aid in the formation of a national or international organization where the same do not exist.

RESOLVED, that we heartily concur in the action of the Committee on a National Organ, and would recommend that the *Workingman's Advocate*, of Chicago; *Daily and Weekly Voice*, of Boston; *Daily Union*, of Detroit;

Moulders' International Journal, Philadelphia; *Herald*, of Troy, New York; *Industrial Advocate*, of St. Louis; *German Reform*, of Chicago, and all other papers favorable to the labor movement, receive the support and patronage of the workingmen in those localities in preference to all others.

RESOLVED, that in co-operation we recognize a sure and lasting remedy for the abuses of the present industrial system, and hail with delight the organization of co-operative stores and workshops in this country, and would urge their formation in every section of the country and in every branch of business.

RESOLVED, that the system of prison labor which is practiced throughout this country is not only injurious to the producing classes, but it is an invitation for mean employers to contract with the government for cheap labor, and the honorable mechanics not being able to compete with this class of labor and support their families, are obliged to seek a living elsewhere much to their inconvenience, and we would recommend that the public be requested not to patronize parties who contract for prison labor, except they pay the rate of wages demanded by mechanics outside.

RESOLVED, that we pledge our individual and undivided support to the sewing-women and daughters of toil in this land, and would solicit their hearty co-operation, knowing, as we do, that no class of industry is so much in need of having their condition ameliorated as the factory operatives, sewing-women, etc., of this country.

RESOLVED, as the sense of this congress, that the speedy restoration of the agricultural interests of the Southern States is of vital importance to the laboring men of the North, and that the aggregation and capitalizing of the surplus earnings of labor for the two fold purpose of

promoting an increased production of cotton, and of aiding and elevating the laboring classes, as proposed by the American Industrial Agency, is very desirable, and we invite the attention of the laboring men to the subject.

RESOLVED, that we would urgently call the attention of the industrial classes to the subject of tenement houses and improved dwellings, believing it essential to the welfare of the whole community that a reform should be effected in this respect, as the experience of the past has proven that vice, pauperism and crime are the invariable attendants of the over-crowded, illy-ventilated dwellings of the poor, and urge upon the capitalists of the country the blessings to be derived from investing their means in erecting such dwellings.

RESOLVED, that we this day join hands with labor in the interests of agriculture, and hereby declare it primary in our different organizations, and all that are now or hereafter organized shall adopt the same in the following words: "That the whole public domain shall be disposed of to actual settlers only;" and that the proper officers of this convention are instructed to see that the foregoing resolutions shall be carried into effect.

RESOLVED, that the public domain belongs to the people of the whole states, purchased by their blood and treasure, and is to them an inheritance, endorsing fully as we do the opinion of our best statesmen on the subject that a minimum price be fixed for the whole agricultural domain, to be disposed of to actual settlers only. Further, if Congress or the several states, where lands may exist, as belonging to the nation or states, that they shall not be so considered, but shall be considered as belonging to the people, and in cases where the legislators may wish to encourage any public works with such as railroads, bridges, roads, agricultural colleges, etc.,

for the several states, or any other improvements that may be thought proper from time to time, then in all cases of this kind it shall be considered unjust and destructive to the best interests of the people to make special grants of these lands, but only the proceeds thereof.[19]

RESOLVED, that this congress deprecate what is familiarly known as "strikes" among workingmen, and would recommend that every other honorable means be exhausted before such a course is resorted to. [Struck out in 1868.—EDS.]

RESOLVED, that the formation of mechanics' institutes, lyceums, reading rooms, and the erection of buildings for the purpose is recommended to the workingmen in all cities and towns as a means of advancing their intellectual culture and social improvement.

RESOLVED, that this Labor Congress would most respectfully recommend to the workingmen of the country that in case they are pressed by a want of employment they proceed to the public lands and become actual settlers, believing that if the industry of the country can be coupled with its natural advantages, it will redound both in individual relief and national advantage.

The report was received and adopted. . . The Congress adjourned with prayer by Mr. Emmons.

[The convention appointed a committee which called upon President Andrew Johnson and presented the subjects of hours of labor, public lands, protection against importation of foreign pauper labor, and convict labor. The president replied that he had "said something on all the propositions" and had himself "started most of them." The members of the committee were: John Hinchcliffe, of Missouri, chairman; J. W. Cooper, of Maryland; A. C. Cameron, Illinois; Robert Emmons,

[19] The report of the Committee on Public Lands is quoted entire in the "Address to Workingmen" which follows these "Proceedings."—EDS.

District of Columbia; Alexander Troup of Connecticut; L. R. Mastin of Delaware; W. Lee of Virginia; J. H. Spaulding of Massachusetts; W. Harding of New York; James Ashworth of Georgia [Missouri?]; W. H. Stewart of Michigan; Andrew Schroeder of Missouri; A. Dalzell of Pennsylvania; J. Alfred of Indiana; and W. S. Macauley of Iowa.—*Workingman's Advocate*, Sept. 1, 1866.]

(c) ADDRESS TO WORKINGMEN

The Address of the National Labor Congress to the Workingmen of the United States, leaflet, Hazlitt and Quinton, Printers (Chicago, 1867). The committee on address was appointed at the Baltimore congress, but the address was not published until almost a year later. The chairman of the committee, and author of the address, Andrew C. Cameron, was editor of the Chicago *Workingman's Advocate*.

FELLOW CITIZENS: On the twentieth of August, 1866, the first National Labor Congress ever convened in the United States, was ushered into existence in the city of Baltimore, Md., when sixty delegates representing a majority of the States of the Union, met for the purpose of effecting a permanent, systematic organization of the wealth producing classes, and devising the best means by which their interests could be subserved and protected. Heretofore the highest form that labor associations had taken was the national union of some of the respective trades. Between these organizations, however, there was no sympathy or systematic connection; no co-operative effort; no working for the attainment of a common end, the want of which has been experienced for years by every craft and calling. As a matter of course the work there accomplished was of a preliminary character. While all present realized the importance and necessity of the undertaking, the magnitude and multiplicity of the interests involved were of such a nature, and the time for deliberation so lim-

ited, that little more could be effected than the adoption of a declaration of principles and the framing of a groundwork for future action. The number of the subjects handled by the congress, and the enlightened judgment and moderation displayed in their discussion, even under these circumstances, was such as to elicit the commendation of all friends of the cause, which is certainly an augury of hope for the future.

At that convention the undersigned were appointed a committee to prepare, on behalf of the congress, an address to the workingmen of America, setting forth the objects sought to be attained, soliciting their co-operation in the premises, and their attendance at its next session, to be holden at Chicago, Illinois, on the nineteenth of August, 1867.

In the fulfillment of that task the first question which presents itself is the all-absorbing subject of Eight Hours.

The question of all others, which at present engrosses the attention of the American workman, and, in fact, the American people – is the proposed reduction of the hours of daily labor, and the substitution of the eight for the ten hour system, now recognized as the standard of a legal day's work. As might have been expected, the employing capitalists, aided by a venal press, have set up a howl of rage, and protested against the adoption of such a monstrous innovation, though it is worthy of note that the chief opposition comes from those who confessedly have given the subject the least consideration.

The committee do not intend, in this address, to enter into any lengthened defence of the measure, but prefer to present its claims, justice and necessity, upon a few simple truths, which must commend themselves to the

JOHN SINEY

Miner. First president of Miners' National Association, 1873

O. H. KELLEY

Farmer. Founder of Patrons of Husbandry, 1873

ANDREW C. CAMERON

Printer. Editor of Chicago *Workingman's Advocate*, 1864-1877. He attended every annual Industrial Congress, 1866-1875. In 1869, he went as delegate to Basle Congress of International Workingmen's Association, from the National Labor Union, of which he became treasurer in 1871

EDWARD H. ROGERS

Ship-carpenter. Member of Massachusetts Legislature and of famous Eight-hour Commission, 1865

judgment of the public at large. In all the discussions by the partisan press – from the metropolitan journal to the village croaker – every moral consideration has been waived, every plea put forth by its advocates omitted, and every argument adduced has been based on a purely selfish, dollars and cents standpoint.

On the contrary, the producing classes assert that other and higher considerations than those heretofore advanced by its opponents should enter into the discussion of its merits or practicability. They insist it is a self-evident proposition that the success of our republican institutions must depend on the virtue, the intelligence and the independence of the working classes; and that any system, social or political, which tends to keep the masses in ignorance, whether by unjust or oppressive laws, or by over-manual labor, is injurious alike to the interests of the state and the individual. But while standing on this principle they claim that even from a financial stand-point the benefits its adoption would confer, can be demonstrated beyond a peradventure. They realize that the present is emphatically an age of progress; that day by day the genius of man – the toiler – is developing some system, some theory, some invention to lessen human labor and increase the already enormous accumulations of capital. They find, also, that the examination of the records both of our own and the British Patent Office, divulges the fact that three-fourths of the labor saving machinery, perfected during the past twenty-five years, has been the creation of the workingman's own brain; further, that since the adoption of the ten hour system, these inventions have increased over seventy-five per cent, while their position remains virtually the same, proving conclusively that capital has reaped the advantages obtained by such discoveries. In view

of these truths they ask that the wealth-producer should share, if not equally, at least partially, the benefits derived—a demand, the justice of which, we think, few will have the temerity to deny.

But there is still another phase of the question which entitles it to serious consideration. While the invention and application of labor-saving machinery has, in all cases, redounded to the interests of the employer, its operation has been, in many instances, injurious both to the physical and intellectual welfare of the workman; his duties frequently partaking of an automatic character, while it denies all opportunity for the healthy exercise of the mind. A workman who planned, gauged and constructed, employed his intellectual as well as his physical energies, while the man who merely performs the monotonous functions of a mere automaton, as thousands of our factory employees do from year to year, must eventually descend both in the intellectual and social scale.

It is certainly strange that even its most ardent friends, outside the labor ranks, speak of its success as problematical, ignoring the fact that in countries less favored than our own, where it has obtained a full and impartial trial, its staunchest advocates are the employers themselves; in a country too which is represented with credit in its legislative halls by men who earn their living by the sweat of their brows.

The plea urged that the laboring classes would not use the leisure time obtained to their own, and consequently, to the benefit of the community, is one which is disproved by the experience of the past. Every similar reformation, although ushered in with equally ominous prediction, has not only tended to the development of the resources and material prosperity of the country

inaugurating it, but has been the means of improving the physical and intellectual condition of the laboring classes; and there is certainly no reason for supposing that the adoption of the eight hour system would not have an equally beneficial result. The truth is, that the wish is father to the thought, and it is because they know to the contrary, that these reckless assertions are indulged in.

The charge that workingmen, as a class, are ignorant and illiterate, instead of being an argument against, is one of the strongest reasons which could be urged in favor of its adoption. They are ignorant because they are over-worked; because they have been denied the privileges which others, more favored, have reaped. They have realized, by practical experience, that the relation between the physical and intellectual energies is such, that injury to one means injury to both; and that the ignorance complained of is the result of that system that they are now determined to destroy. That so long as it exists, so long will they occupy their present menial position; to occupy another or more exalted one they must think more and work less; devote more time to their own advancement, and less to the enrichment of the drones of society.

These truths, and a thousand others equally applicable, might be cited, but we forbear. What is needed is the co-operation of the workingmen of America to bring into operation this much desired reform. While some states have nobly led the van others have stood idly by. Of its ultimate triumph we cannot, dare not entertain a doubt. The repulse of the skirmish line should only nerve to more determined action, and show the necessity of united effort. There is certainly no cause for despondency. The future is big with hope. From all quarters come words of encouragement and cheer. We

believe, if a proper energy is manifested at the next session of our National Legislature, an Eight Hour Law will be passed by an almost unanimous vote, which will doubtless impart the needed energy to those who have heretofore neglected their duty. All that is wanted, fellow citizens, then, is faith in the right, harmony, unity and resolve, and eight hours will shortly become, by legal enactment, a day's work in every state in the American Union. This question naturally leads us to the consideration of a subject which is intimately associated with its adoption, viz: Co-operation.

The question of co-operative stores and co-operative associations for trading and manufacturing purposes has the widest bearing and effect upon the condition of the workingmen; and although anything like a full discussion of the principles of co-operative industry is beyond the scope of an address of this character, the committee feel it their duty not to pass the subject by without a brief reference to its beneficial results. In England, where co-operative stores were first introduced, they have proved eminently successful, beyond even the hopes of their originators, and their diffusion over the kingdom, and their introduction into other countries are a sufficient attestation of their benefits.

The twenty-eight flannel weavers who, within a quarter of a century, in order to avoid the exactions of the petty trades people—middle men—who grew rich with the sale of commodities of villainous quality at exorbitant prices, combined, at Rochdale, to become their own purveyors, laid the foundations of an enterprise which has come, in the course of a few years, to flourish in one of the principal towns of England, and which is prolific of the grandest results to the workingmen.

To say that co-operative stores, co-operative mills,

etc., have been successful, is but feebly to express the measure of their benefits. The Rochdale weavers started with a subscription of five or six cents a week from each member, and when they had accumulated the sum of one hundred and forty dollars, they began the sale of a few groceries, which rapidly extended to the carrying on of numerous trades, and, in less than ten years, their capital reached the sum of Two Hundred and Fifty Thousand Dollars. The advantages of this method are not limited to the fact that the purchaser at such stores gets his goods at a slight advance upon the original cost, and participates in the profits of the enterprise, but the adulterations of articles of food, which have become so general, and which are so destructive of health, are avoided.

The committee cannot too strongly urge upon the workingmen of this country the advantage—almost necessity even—of establishing co-operative stores.

The example of Rochdale shows how easily they may do so, and when extended to every manufacture and trade, as they easily may, the workingmen will cease to contribute to the support of those who do not of themselves contribute anything to the products of labor, but who secure a large proportion of those products merely in distributing them.

It has been well said that the whole atmosphere of such a store is honest. There is no distrust, no deception, no adulteration and no second prices.

Men have an interest in cheating others, not themselves, and therefore when they furnish their own food, or articles of clothing, there will be no false weight or measure, no adulteration of quality or trick of trade to be feared.

And there are special reasons and needs for the ex-

istence of co-operative efforts in this country, for here there is less disposition on the part of capital to combine and co-operate with labor, than elsewhere, in consequence of the excessive accumulations of capital by the great rates of interest which prevail in this country. A false, vicious financial system endows capital with powers of increase largely in excess of the development of national wealth by natural productions.

Labor increases the wealth of the country yearly but little in advance of three per cent, as the census statistics amply attest. The national wealth as the product of the national labor, augments at this rate; whereas capital employed in banking and manufacturing enterprises, in railroad bonds or invested in mortgages, accumulated at a rate three or four times greater than the increase in wealth by the production of labor. Hence the proprietors of a house must receive by way of rent not only the interest which the money expended in the purchase of the lot and building of the house would yield, if invested in bank stock, railroad bonds, federal securities, or loaned out on mortgage, but also enough in addition to maintain repairs and pay insurance and taxes.

Unless capital invested in houses will do this, its owner has no object in employing it thus. Hence the high rates which consume so much of the workingman's wages. Hence he is obliged to live in poor houses in the suburbs of our large cities, miles away from his shop or place of work. And the same thing is true of the manufacturer. His capital must yield him not only this profitable rate of interest, but must also be enough above them to pay for the wear and breakage of machinery and the risks of trade. And in order to secure this excessive profit he demands the protection of government by the machinery of tariff laws.

This extraordinary power of accumulation which the laws give to money in this country, render everything the workingman wears, and the rent of the house which shelters his family, very high, and as this accumulative power is many times in excess of the accumulation of wealth by labor, the prices of clothing and the cost of rent are largely out of proportion to the price of wages.

Let the workingman toil ever so hard and constantly, let his habits be ever so economical – at the end of the year he finds his inevitable expenses have consumed all his wages.

He has no remedy against this but to combine his earnings with his brothers in labor, and build his own house, manufacture his own goods, and supply his and his family's needs with his own provisions.

The natural co-operation is between capital and labor, but the rapid increase of the former, through the agency of interest laws and banking systems, makes capital not only independent but oppressive of labor. The earnings of the latter go to the former with the directness and inevitableness of an inexorable law. And until capital and labor become organized into a system of mutual co-operation, the workingmen must protect themselves by means of co-operation with one another. But the advantages which they will derive from it will make them to a much greater extent than now, masters of their own time. It will secure to them the means of study, which will enable them to comprehend the just relations between capital and labor, and the power of organizing these relations into law. We confidently look forward to a period not remote when the co-operative principle will carry on the great works and improvements of the age. It will build all our cities, dig

our ores, fill the land with the noise of loom and spindle. The workingman as he is now in many instances his own purveyor through co-operative stores, will become contractor, builder, manufacturer, reaping the rewards of his own industry and the profits of his own labor.

TRADES' UNIONS. There are, probably, no organizations upon the nature of which so much real ignorance exists, even among workingmen, or against which such a persistent and systematic opposition has been urged, as trades' unions. Their aims and objects have been grossly misrepresented, and public prejudice has been aroused by those who only know enough to pander to popular ignorance. In spite of this opposition, however, they are daily increasing in numbers and influence, and the committee trust that the day is not far distant when every competent and honorable workman will be embraced within their folds.

So far from encouraging the spirit of hostility to employers, all properly organized unions recognize an identity of interest between and confer as many benefits on the employer as the employed.

That their establishment has been beneficial to the community in general and the working classes in particular, can best be demonstrated by reference to the reforms inaugurated through their agency, and the social and intellectual status of those mechanics who refuse to become connected with them. Just in proportion as they have increased in influence have pauperism and crime decreased, and the principles of co-operative industry proved successful. Trades' Unions have a tendency to develop those principles of self respect, justice and independence which are characteristic only of a true manhood, and which must prove in the future, as they have in the past, the grand educational schools from

which so many of our most worthy and influential mechanics have graduated.

Preposterous as the assertion may seem, we claim they have been the creation of necessity, and that they are purely defensive in character. They insist, and justly so, that the employee shall have, at least, an equal voice with the employer in determining the value of the labor performed, and knowing that isolation is weakness and combination strength, they prefer trusting to the power and justice of their united claims, than in the magnanimity or generosity of capital.

It may seem inconsistent, but it is nevertheless true, that those who decry their arbitrary exactions have no conscientious scruples about receiving the standard of wages adopted through their exertions. The truth of the matter is, no mechanic who is not a moral coward, or an incompetent workman, can give a satisfactory reason why his name is not found on a union register.

We are well aware that a vindictive, arbitrary spirit – a spirit at variance with the principles inculcated – may, too often, be found in many of our local societies, but we cannot recognize the validity of this argument for non-membership, as in too many instances we have reason to believe it is used as a mere subterfuge to escape that responsibility which rests on the head of every one who refuses or neglects to comply with his imperative duty.

A too common error, and one into which even workingmen are prone to fall, is the charge that they demand the same wages for an inferior as a superior workman. This is far from being the case. While it is true they establish a minimum rate of wages, they do not prevent, in any instance, a superior workman from receiving such extra compensation, over and above that schedule, as

his services may entitle him to. The high standard of moral worth demanded by our labor organizations of their members also entitle them to public favor. Many, who a few years ago were among the most thriftless and dissolute of men, upon whom reason and entreaty were alike thrown away, are to-day, through their influence, the peers in intelligence, faithfulness and sobriety of any body of mechanics in the country. The committee therefore feel it to be their duty to urge upon every non-union man the necessity of at once allying himself with a trades' association. Infringing on the religious or political sentiments of no one; guarding alike the interests of employer and employee, guaranteeing a *quid pro quo*, in all cases where their workings are unobstructed, they furnish most effective barriers against the aggressions of capital, without which all would be strife, anarchy and confusion.

THE APPRENTICE SYSTEM. In direct connection with the foregoing subject, and one that demands immediate reformation, is our present defective apprenticeship system. While it is true, employers, as a class, have themselves in great measure to blame for the existing evils, we fear our trades' unions do not exercise due diligence in requiring from applicants for membership the evidence that they are qualified to fill the position to which they aspire. On the one hand we have the complaint that all members of trades' organizations have not served a legitimate apprenticeship; on the other the unanswerable charge that in every case of difficulty, employers have been the first to violate the contract, by securing the services of botches to thwart the claims of competent workmen; that as self-preservation is nature's first law, these men are admitted simply in self-defence; and that whenever employers agree to a more honorable war-

fare – if warfare there must be – the trades' unions will cordially co-operate with them in the rigid enforcement of an apprenticeship law.

It certainly requires no argument to prove that it is alike the interest and duty of every competent mechanic to insist that his associates should present their diploma before allowing their labor to enter into competition with his own. A man who has served a faithful apprenticeship, and whose capital consists in a knowledge of his calling, ought certainly to be the last person to abandon a system, the application of which is essential to his welfare. If law or custom demanded he should serve for a given time in a subordinate capacity, it could only be with the tacit understanding that he should reap the fruits of his labor at its expiration, and that the privileges honorably won by such compliance would be scrupulously regarded by all employers.

How long the suicidal policy at present pursued will be continued, must be determined by those directly interested. We think, however, it is the imperative duty of all Trades' Unions to use their influence to secure its recognition and enforcement both by the employer and employee, and thus practically illustrate that membership in their bodies, guarantees an efficient and qualified workman.

STRIKES. With regard to the question of strikes, the committee feel they cannot too strongly deprecate all appeals to such extreme measures, except as a *dernier* resort, believing that by the appointment, where practicable, of a conference committee, whose duty it would be to lay the nature of the grievance before the employer, and ask redress for the same, many, if not all, of the difficulties complained of could be satisfactorily removed. "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of

cure," and as a large majority of the strikes end in failure and disaster, our unions have everything to gain and nothing to lose by the adoption of such a course. Nor is this view the only one to be taken; failure, in many instances, exposes weaknesses which render them more liable than heretofore to fresh encroachments. These remarks, however, are intended only for general applications; there are emergencies when no other alternative but a strike is presented. On such occasions the duty of all honorable workmen is plain and unmistakable, and that is, to make common cause, to unite as one man, to act in concert, a course which if adopted and adhered to, would bring about very different results to those which generally attend such demonstrations.

FEMALE LABOR. We are glad to learn that this subject is engrossing, to a great degree, the attention of all true reformers, and have every reason to believe that its thorough and careful examination will go a long way to remove the causeless prejudices heretofore entertained by all classes against its employment in many channels of useful occupations. The position of the laboring classes, however, as a body, on this question, as on many others, has been grossly misrepresented. They have objected, and naturally, too, to the introduction of female labor when used as a means to depreciate the value of their own, and accomplish the selfish ends of an employer, when under the specious plea of disinterested "philanthropy," the ulterior object has not been the elevation of woman, but the degradation of man, or as has been the case in almost every instance, where the labor of one has been brought into competition with the other. We claim that if they are capable to fill the positions now occupied by the stronger sex—and in many

instances they are eminently qualified to do so – they are entitled to be treated as their equals, and receive the same compensation for such services. That they do not is *prima facie* evidence that their employment is entirely a question of self-interest, from which all other considerations are excluded. Why should the seamstress or female factory operative receive one-third or one-half the amount demanded by and paid to men for the performance of the same work? Yet that such is the case, is a fact too well established to require corroboration.

We trust, therefore, that the workingmen of America will protest against the further continuance of this iniquitous system, and lend their powerful influence to effect a reform, and in no manner can they do so more thoroughly than by aiding in the formation of those labor associations in which experience has demonstrated their own safety lies. We now pass to the considerations of a question in the successful solution of which the working classes have an abiding interest – the question of negro labor.

The condition of the negro as a slave, and the moral and economical effects of slavery, were discussed by the press, from the public rostrum, and in the halls of Congress for years and years with great energy and zeal; what shall be his status as a free man is at present a matter of no less national anxiety. But aside from this, his interest as a workingman, and especially the part he is to take in advancing the cause of labor have, as yet, received no consideration. It is in this last respect exclusively that, the question has an interest for the friends of the labor reform; an interest of such vital importance that, delicate as the question may be, and notwithstanding the impossibility of expressing an opinion in refer-

ence to it, which would meet with the universal approval of the workingmen of America, the committee feel that it would be a sad dereliction to pass it by unnoticed.

The first thing to be accomplished before we can hope for any great results is the thorough organization of all the departments of labor. This work, although its beginning is of such recent date, has progressed with amazing rapidity. Leagues, societies and associations exist in all the large towns and cities, and in many villages and country districts. There are central organizations in many of the states, and one national labor congress, the result of whose deliberation on the future welfare of the country can scarcely be overestimated. In this connection we cannot overlook the important position now assigned to the colored race in this contest. Unpalatable as the truth may be to many, it is needless to disguise the fact that they are destined to occupy a different position in the future, to what they have in the past; that they must necessarily become in their new relationship an element of strength or an element of weakness, and it is for the workingmen of America to say which that shall be.

The systematic organization and consolidation of labor must henceforth become the watchword of the true reformer. To accomplish this the co-operation of the African race in America must be secured. If those most directly interested fail to perform this duty, others will avail themselves of it to their injury. Indeed a practical illustration of this was afforded in the recent importation of colored caulkers from Portsmouth, Va., to Boston, Mass., during the struggle on the eight hour question. What is wanted then, is for every union to help inculcate the grand, ennobling idea that the interests of labor are one; that there should be no distinction

of race or nationality; no classification of Jew or Gentile, Christian or Infidel; that there is but one dividing line—that which separates mankind into two great classes, the class that labors and the class that lives by others' labors. This, in our judgment, is the true course for us as workingmen. The interest of all on our side of the line is the same, and should we be so far misled by prejudice or passion as to refuse to aid the spread of union principles among any of our fellow toilers, we would be untrue to them, untrue to ourselves and to the great cause we profess to have at heart. If these general principles be correct, we must seek the co-operation of the African race in America.

But aside from all this, the workingmen of the United States have a special interest in seeking their co-operation. This race is being rapidly educated, and will soon be admitted to all the privileges and franchises of citizenship. That it will neither die out nor be exterminated, is now regarded as a settled fact. They are there to live amongst us, and the question to be decided is, shall we make them our friends, or shall capital be allowed to turn them as an engine against us? They number four millions strong, and a greater proportion of them labor with their hands than can be counted from among the same number of any other people on earth. Their moral influence, and their strength at the ballot-box would be of incalculable value to the cause of labor. Can we afford to reject their proffered co-operation and make them enemies? By committing such an act of folly we would inflict greater injury upon the cause of Labor Reform than the combined efforts of capital could accomplish. Their cherished idea of an antagonism between white and black labor would be realized, and as the Austrian despotism makes use of

the hostility between the different races, which compose the empire to maintain her existence and her balance, so capitalists, north and south, would foment discord between the whites and blacks, and hurl the one against the other, as interest and occasion might require, to maintain their ascendancy and continue the reign of oppression. Lamentable spectacle! Labor warring against labor, and capital smiling and reaping the fruits of this mad contest.

Taking this view of the question, we are of the opinion that the interests of the labor cause demand that all workingmen be included within its ranks, without regard to race or nationality; and that the interests of the workingmen of America especially requires that the formation of trades' unions, eight hour leagues, and other labor organizations, should be encouraged among the colored race; that they be instructed in the true principles of labor reform, and that they be invited to co-operate with us in the general labor undertaking. The time when such co-operation should take effect we leave to the decision and wisdom of the next congress, believing that such enlightened action will be there developed as to redound to the best and most lasting interests of all concerned.

THE PUBLIC DOMAIN. The reckless manner in which the public lands have been wantonly squandered and voted to corporations, demands the immediate attention of the American public. The recent expose, by John Bright, of the villainous system – a system, too, which we as a nation are fast adopting – which has placed one-half of the landed property in Great Britain in the possession of a score of so-called landlords, is one from which we should take timely warning. The report of the Baltimore committee, which reported last year on the same,

is so terse and appropriate, that we cannot do better than transfer it entire. It reads as follows:

The cause of complaint is the monopoly of the new or government lands, using the legislation of the country as the medium by which this monopoly is created. We find something of three hundred million of acres of these lands, a large amount being excluded from taxation, and have been for a series of years. That the subject of agriculture we accept as one of great importance. Considered as the basis of all wealth, at least, we cannot subsist without this all important industry. It would seem superficial for any at this day and condition of civilization to accumulate evidence to prove the importance of this industrial pursuit; that cheap living necessitates a larger area of labor, not only in the increased consumption of manufacturing products, but as a defence against foreign importation of these articles.

Much of the protection that is now urged by the manufacturer as necessary to protect him is occasioned by the high price of living, and your committee would here state that they consider it a very essential step towards correcting the evil complained of, when this congress shall resolve that this government shall no longer be the medium by which land monopoly shall be established in our new states and territories. To attempt to enlarge our commerce and manufactures by neglecting so important a principle of political economy, would be like substituting the apex for the base of the pyramid. The prayer of the petitioners should be granted, particularly at this time, as we think it will have a wholesome influence in checking legislation in a wrong direction. The early founders of the government considered it unjust and unconstitutional to deal in class legislation with respect to the public domain. Madison wrote against

it; President Monroe, in the language of Thomas H. Benton, in his *Thirty Years' Review*, says, "that he had exhausted all argument in the language to prove that this power did not exist, and for a correct understanding of this subject nothing further may be said." General Jackson refused to sign bills for making special grants of land, and bringing to his support and position the favor and sympathies of a large party. His position was that it was bad economy, unjust to the pioneer agriculturist, and destructive to the material interests of the country; that the lands in the hands of a few capitalists would be likely to make the necessity of the settler their opportunity. He therefore recommended, in his message to congress, just what your petitioners would ask of this congress, to declare that no person, individual or corporate, should get between the settler and the government on the public domain. This position was taken when the subject of class legislation was presented in its most objectionable form. Had the Montana land grant become a law, and a precedent for future legislation, your committee cannot see any rights that the people could have in these lands, other than through the sufference of a few political adventurers or capitalists that may meet at every session of our congress.

Your committee would respectfully represent that cities on the western slope of this continent, and others more centrally located, have sprung up, as if by magic, eclipsing in material wealth and prosperity many of our most favored cities after a growth of half a century. This prosperity we offer as a demonstrative proof of the change asked for by the petition. The laborer in this case was master of the situation; he had only to labor and to thrive. The British land system had not been sufficiently perfected by our government to take in this

distant region, from him a portion of his hard-earned toil. Wherever the hand of nature had planted her treasures he was free to make his lodgement; to supply civilized life with any and all its wants. It is the principle that we wish to see applied to all our agricultural lands.

Your committee would here assert, as we have before intimated, that this system is not of American, but rather of British origin. The lands were in that country at an early day safely placed in the hands of a few individuals and they and their descendants have always composed the government of that country; that after six hundred years, true to their instincts, the "land monopolies" sent to our shores their Alabamas to prey upon our commerce and destroy our institutions. The power created by this system has all this while been steadily pursuing its relentless course, opposing any measures that may have for its objects the amelioration of the condition of the people. Your committee would respectfully submit that in no other form does wealth become so objectionable to the moral, social and material interests of the country. The lands in the colonies previous to the revolution were considered as belonging to the crown; the British rulers were careful not to adopt a general system, but made special grants "to court favorites, or those having friends at court," much the same as is now practiced at every session of our Congress. This power, then, it would seem, was not contemplated by this government, that we ought to treat it as an interloper foreign to our interests and monarchial in its pretensions. In the language of the poet–

> A monster of such frightful mien,
> That to be hated, is but to be seen.

In view of the false position that politicians have accorded to labor and industry, we would propose the fol-

lowing sentiment in order to restore them to their proper position, viz: "The tools to those that have the ability and skill to use them, and the lands to those who have the will and heart to cultivate them."

POLITICAL ACTION. If there is one fact more than another which has impressed itself upon the attention of workingmen during the past year, it is the absolute necessity of cutting aloof from the ties and trammels of party, manipulated in the interests of capital, and using the advantages conferred by American citizenship – the ballot – to the furtherance of their own interests and welfare. It is not the possession but the proper use of this privilege which can avail aught in the struggle for the mastery. In fact, it may well be questioned whether, in many instances, it has not proven a curse rather than a blessing to its possessors. No matter by what name the various political elements have been divided, no matter upon what issues the line of demarcation has been drawn, the moment the interests of capital have been endangered, the tocsin of alarm has been sounded, party ties have been obliterated, and our so-called legislators have stood shoulder to shoulder, as one man, in defence of a common interest. The legislation of the past has been the legislation of capital; the legitimate result of which is seen in the present menial, degraded position occupied by the very class whose welfare it was pledged to defend.

The interests of the consumer has always been the primary, the interests of the producer the secondary consideration, in our state and national councils. Nor should this be a matter of surprise. Indeed, it would be strange were it otherwise. We had no right to expect a different result. That an antagonism between labor and capital should or must necessarily exist, we do not believe; that under our iniquitous monetary and finan-

cial system – the result of legislation – it does exist, is a self-evident proposition. No man will refuse to recognize the truth of this statement; neither can any one, who has had practical experience and has looked about him in the world, fail to perceive that the one grand cause of all the evils to which we have alluded, and many others which will forever remain unspoken and unwritten, but which are silently gnawing at the hearts of thousands, is the robbery which capital perpetrates on labor through legislation.

Under these circumstances the aim of our law-makers – taken almost exclusively from the ranks of capital – has been to foster, protect and perpetuate these wrongs, a position to which the producing classes have been a party by their virtual acquiescence and endorsement. They have been satisfied with the husks, with the casket rather than the jewel; they have placed too much dependence on the opinion of others and too little on their own; the appeal of the demagogue has accomplished more than the words of earnest, practical common sense. While they have expended their commiseration on the down trodden masses of the old world – and thanked God that American institutions were not as other institutions, they seemed to ignore the fact that human nature was the same in the new as in the old world, and that these same institutions were assimilating daily more and more to those to whom it seemed to be their pleasure and their duty to decry.

But, we are speaking of the past, we have brighter anticipations for the future. The signs of the times are propitious. The working classes are fast rousing from the lethargy in which they have been sunk. They are realizing that, as the evils which weigh with crushing effect upon society, are legislative in character, that the

remedy must therefore be legislative. They realize, also, that a new era has been ushered in, that the sectional issues of the past have been swept away; that the civil war which has blighted our fair land has ceased; that our national authority has been re-established over every rood of American soil, and the starry flag floats once more in undisputed triumph from the Kennebec to the Rio Grande; that with these results have come new duties and responsibilities; that during the period of transformation it becomes their duty to prepare themselves for the impending conflict. They realize, as they have never realized before, their tremendous responsibility; they know that issues of a more permanent character than those which have heretofore engrossed the attention of the American people must now be presented, issues, doubtless, which time will change and modify, but which, nevertheless, will remain as monuments of their folly or discernment as they may determine to make their influence felt in this eventful crisis; issues, too, in which their interests are more indissolubly connected than any which have ever preceded them.

Fellow-citizens, your duty, under these circumstances, is plain and unmistakable. It is to discard the clap-trap issues of the past; select your representatives in the state and national councils from the ranks of labor; from men who acknowledge allegiance to no ism or party; from those whose welfare is your welfare, and who, when the conflict comes, as come it must, will be found nobly battling for your rights, and the recognition of human progress.

We have faith, fellow-citizens, that you will be found equal to the task of assuring your own liberty. We believe the men who make nations great by their toil,

and who defend them with their bayonets, will be able to maintain, as well as institute a popular government; will be able to overcome the principles and efface the legislation, which in creating monopolies, create privileged classes incompatible with that equality of right which is the basis of a true democracy.

At the last session of the national Congress, the National Labor Party was ushered into existence; at its next meeting we hope its organization will be more thoroughly effected; and trust that by the fall of 1868 its ramifications may be found in every city, town and village in the United States, and that by united exertion and perseverance, the highest official in the land, for the first time in the history of our country, may be elected by the voice of the people—on the broad platform of justice, equality and fraternity.

CONCLUSION. Having somewhat briefly referred to a few of the more prominent topics which presented themselves to the committee, we trust you may find in the suggestions thrown out, something worthy of your attention. We now extend a cordial invitation to all to participate in our deliberations. Come from the north and the south, from the east and the west; come from the anvil and the loom; from the work-bench and the forge—every craft and every trade; come as the representatives of states' assemblies or trades' unions—singly or in delegations, all will be equally welcome; come with fraternal greetings, bearing the olive branch of peace; come prompted by a common interest and actuated by a common motive; come forgetting the past and its issues, ignoring alike the appeals and denunciations of partizanship; come realizing the importance of the crisis and the necessity of decided action; come as lovers

of a common country, and help by your counsels and deliberations to hasten that glorious time,

> When man to man the world o'er
> Shall brothers be and a' that.

When worth, not wealth, shall rule mankind; when tyranny and oppression of every character shall be uprooted and destroyed; and when the laborers of America, intelligent, united, and disenthralled, shall occupy that proud position which God in his kind providence intended they should occupy – a position they never can aspire to until the evils complained of are redressed by and through their own exertions. Finally, brethren, come one and all and help to marshall those mighty forces of labor, which, when disciplined, will march to certain victory.

A. C. CAMERON, Illinois, T. A. ARMSTRONG, Pennsylvania, WM. B. ILES, Georgia, GILMAN RAND, Massachusetts, J. R. BOLAN, New York, Committee.

3. CHICAGO CONGRESS, 1867

(a) DELEGATES

Workingman's Advocate, Aug. 24, 31, 1867.

ILLINOIS – Samuel E. Pinta, Typographical Union, No. 16, Chicago; Mark Morrisey, Stone Cutters' Union, Chicago; Simon O'Neil, Chas. M. Newland, Trades' Assembly, Chicago; J. W. Overacker, Coopers' Union, Chicago; Jacob G. Selig, Cigar Makers' Union, Chicago; Thomas McQueeny, Bricklayers' Union, Chicago; Thos. A. Hogan, Plasterers' Union, Chicago; Edmund Crossfield, Painters' Union, Chicago; A. C. Cameron, State Workingmen's Convention, Illinois; Henry Van Dorn, Boot and Shoemakers' Union, Chicago; Lewis L. Wadsworth, Machinists' and Blacksmiths' Union, Chicago; James Irwin, Carriage Makers' Union, Chicago; P. K. Watts, Carpenters' and Joiners' Union, Locomotive Firemen's Union, No. 15, Machinists' and Blacksmiths' Union, No. 2, Locomotive Engineers, No. 24, Centralia; George W. Ritchie, Plasterers' Union, Springfield; John Bingham, American Miners' Association, La Salle; Albert H. Brown, National Typographical Union, N.A., Chicago.

NEW YORK [City?] – Jno. Moessinger, Piano Makers' Union; Adam Stock, German Varnishers' Union; Wm. J. Jessup, G. P. Taylor, Workingmen's Union; Martin Simon, Carvers' Union; Jno. Ennis, Plasterers' Union; Frederick Muhlmeister, Cabinet Makers' Union.

MARYLAND – B. E. Green, Pattern Makers' Union, Baltimore; Wm. Cather, Carpenters' Union, Baltimore; James Hyland, Ship Joiners' Union, Baltimore; Thos. Ayers, Bricklayers' International Union, Baltimore.

MICHIGAN – Richard Trevellick, Trades' Assembly Detroit, and Grand Eight Hour League, Michigan; Thos. D. Hawley, Eight Hour League, No. 13 [Ovid]; Sylvester Doremus, Eight Hour League, No. 25, Ovid; Henry H. Ives, Land and Labor Reform Union, No. 1, Grand Rapids; Wm. A. Burkey, Land and Labor Reform Union, No. 2, Grand Rapids; Cyrus Peabody, Eight Hour League, No. 21, Pontiac.

PENNSYLVANIA – Joseph Saunders, Window Glass Blowers' Union, Birmingham; Philip Zell, Hollow-ware Glass Blowers' Union, Birmingham; James Michels, Window-glass Blowers' Union, Birmingham; Alexander Scott, Iron Boilers' Union, Birmingham; J. W. Krepps, Trades' Assembly, Pittsburgh; Wm. Harding, Coachmakers' International Union, Philadelphia; W. H. Sylvis, Moulders' International Union.

OHIO – C. H. Lucker, Tailors' International Union, Cincinnati; J. J. Neal, John Tomlinson, Trades' Assembly, Cincinnati; T. W Linsted, Machinists and Blacksmiths' Union, Mt. Vernon.

WASHINGTON, D.C. – George O. Cook, Bricklayers' Union; James J. Mitchell, Workingmen's Assembly.

CONNECTICUT – C. W. Gibson, Trades' Assembly, Norwich; Alfred W. Phelps, Carpenters and Joiners' Union, New Haven; John Hinchcliffe, Mountville; J. A. Armstrong, Danielsville; J. P. Ellacott, Rockville.

MISSOURI – Andrew Schroeder, Ship Carpenters' and Caulkers' Union, St. Louis.

WISCONSIN – Thomas Hughes, Eight Hour League, No. 8, Beaver Dam.

[Admitted at later sessions:] J. E. Laibold, Eden Auxiliary Anti-Monopoly Association [Illinois]; D. Evans and A. Campbell, State Anti-monopoly Association [Illinois]; R. W. Cowell, Trades' Assembly, Louis-

ville; O. J. Swegels, Eight Hour League, Buffalo; W. H. Stewart, Eight Hour League, Grand Rapids, Mich.; T. J. Nine, Eight Hour League, St. John's, Mich.; Wm. Hibbard, Eight Hour League, Muskegon, Mich.; W. Oakes, Eight Hour League, Corunna, Mich.; W. Parker, Trades' Assembly, Chicago; Frank Lawler, Ship Carpenters' and Caulkers' Union, Chicago; William Hayward, Ship Carpenters' and Caulkers' Union, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; John Webber, Ship Carpenters' and Caulkers' Union, Chicago. [William H. Sylvis, representing the Moulders' Union of Philadelphia, was seated pending arrival of his credentials, and Mr. Schläger, of the German Workingmen's Association of Chicago, was seated by resolution adopted as substitute for report of Committee on Credentials.]

(b) REPORTS OF OFFICERS

[The annual address of President Whaley emphasized the need of funds; recommended salaries for the President and secretary; complained of the difficulty of determining who were members of the National Labor Union, "as the constituency of that body had been indistinctly defined and but questionably established;" suggested a per capita tax to be collected by the unions represented; recited his appointment of vice-presidents, or organizers, for states not provided; recommended establishing a national organ, and stated that the platform had been invariably adopted by all unions before which it was brought for ratification. The corresponding secretary emphasized the need of a stronger central organization, and the need of funds to pay lecturers. He reported that he had written 1,387 letters, received 956, distributed 2,157 printed letters, 5,816 addresses and circulars, received $75.38 for printing the proceedings and expended

$491.62. The treasurer's report showed receipts $205.21 disbursements $187.25. Following is extract from report of the corresponding secretary, C. W. Gibson.]

The past year has been very eventful to the labor cause, no previous year so much so; many gratifying results have been attained; the long hour system has received many very telling blows, and the reasonable demands of the laboring millions of our country for more time for mental culture, social advantages and refreshing rest, have been acknowledged by the legislative wisdom of some of the most powerful states of the union. . . Much pains has been taken to investigate the condition of education among the children of laboring men; in all factory villages there are many children in the mills that should be in the schools, and the deficiency of education is becoming a painful evil which demands serious attention. This Congress should be emphatically heard on this subject. As secretary, I corresponded largely with all those who have taken an active interest in the labor cause, and with cheering results; a very great number of intelligent minds may readily be enlisted in a general and united plan, so soon as that plan can be presented. But they are waiting united method of procedure; that method this Congress should present. It should be not only national, but international. There is much activity and intelligent enterprise beyond the waters, and we may gain much strength and encouragement from them, while our free institutions should shed their light upon the darkness of usurpation and monarchical oppression.

Political action has proved available in the last year; both political parties have respected and dreaded our influence, and to that we must look for the redress of a part of our grievances. The next presidential campaign

should feel our influence. Congress must make our acquaintance in the shape of members who will vote to establish the eight hour rule in all public works; and also who will vote for a proper distribution of taxation and relieve the labor of the country from some of its pressing load; uniting our political strength and ignoring all other political parties, we can make ourselves felt in the nation as we have in some of the states.

The enormous profits now made by exchanges, brokers, etc., who stand between the producers and consumers, should engage the serious attention of the Congress; monopoly now ruins the land, excessive prices for all the industry of the country. The Congress should devise a medium of exchange to remove the hungry throng from between the producer and consumer, and supply the toiling masses with articles of necessary consumption at first prices.

As a whole, the past year has been full of hope and encouragement to the laboring men; we have not gained all we could wish, but we have gained more than we expected. . . If, in no other way, let the working men accept the eight hour rule with a reasonable discount, not of twenty per cent, because eight hours on the eight hour plan are worth more than eight hours on the ten hour plan. Workingmen will do well to get the eight hour rule established; the wages will regulate themselves, employers cannot. . .

(c) CONSTITUTION

[The Baltimore Congress had provided for a committee to report on a draft of a constitution at the next Congress; and this, adopted with amendments, contained the following.]

ARTICLE 1, *Section* 1. This organization shall be

known as the National Labor Union, and its jurisdiction shall be confined to the United States.

ARTICLE 2, *Section* 1. The National Labor Union shall be composed of such labor organizations as may now, or hereafter exist, having for their object the amelioration of the condition of those who labor for a living.

ARTICLE 2, *Section* 2. Every international or national organization shall be entitled to three representatives [and a vice-president at large];[20] state organizations to two; trades unions and all other [labor][21] organizations to one representative in the National Labor Congress, provided that representatives shall derive their election direct from the organization they claim to represent.

ARTICLE 2, *Section* 3. Ex-representatives, upon presentation of certificate of good standing in their organization, shall be entitled to a voice, without a vote, in the National Labor Congress.

ARTICLE 3, *Section* 1. The officers . . . shall consist of a president [salary $1,000], first and second vice-presidents (to be chosen from different states), a recording secretary, treasurer, and a corresponding representative in every state.

ARTICLE 4, *Section* 1. The president . . . during the recess [he] shall have power to appoint corresponding representatives in states where they have not been elected, and shall fill all vacancies. . .

ARTICLE 4, *Section* 5. It shall be the duty of the corresponding representatives to correspond at least once a month with the president, giving to him a synopsis of the progress of the movement in his state. Failure on the part of a corresponding representative to correspond with the president for two months shall be sufficient cause for his removal. The necessary expenses of his office

[20] Struck out in 1868.– EDS

[21] Inserted in 1868.– EDS.

shall be paid from the funds of this National Labor Union.

ARTICLE 4, *Section* 6. It shall be the duty of each organization to report to the corresponding representative of their state, at least once per month, such information as may be necessary to the performance of his duty.

ARTICLE 6.—Any organization numbering 50 members or less shall pay $1, and each union numbering over 50, and less than 100 members, shall pay $2, and all unions that number over 200 members, and less than 500 members, shall pay $5, and all unions numbering over 500 members shall pay $6 annually.

(d) PLATFORM AND POLITICAL ACTION

[Committee on political organization:] Your committee to whom was referred the subject of National Labor Organization, have had the same under consideration, and beg leave to report that in their judgment, the time has arrived when the industrial classes should cut themselves aloof from party ties and predilections, and organize themselves into a National Labor Party, the object of which shall be to secure by proper legislation the labor reforms necessary to the prosperity of the nation, and that we recommend to the various local organizations of workingmen, whenever they may deem it expedient, to nominate candidates for the various offices to be filled, and to support them at the ballot box; and we further recommend to every friend of the labor movement to vote for no candidate not unequivocally pledged to support the principles of the labor reform organization.

A. C. CAMERON, JOHN S. TOMLINSON, J. W. KREPPS, W. A. BERKEY, H. STOCK, ALFRED W. PHELPS, A. SCHROEDER, JAMES HYLAND, R. W. COWELL, JAMES J. MITCHELL.

We beg further to present the following Declaration of Principles:

We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among them are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

That there are but two pure forms of government, the autocratic and the democratic; under the former the will of the individual sovereign is the supreme law, under the latter the sovereignty is vested in the whole people, all other forms being a modification of the one or the other of these principles, and that ultimately one or other of these forms must prevail throughout all civilized nations, and it is now for the American people to determine which of these principles shall triumph.

That the design of the founders of the republic was to institute a government upon the principle of absolute inherent sovereignty in the people, and that would give to each citizen the largest political and religious liberty compatible with the good order of society, and secure to each the right to enjoy the fruits of his labor and talents, that when laws are enacted destructive of these ends, they are without moral binding force, and it is the right and duty of the people to alter, amend or abolish them, and institute such others, founding them upon the principles of equity, as to them may seem most likely to effect their prosperity and happiness.

Prudence will indeed dictate that important laws long established should not be changed for light and transient causes, and experience has shown that the American people are more disposed to suffer while evils are suf-

ferable, than to change the forms and laws to which they have been accustomed. But when a long train of legislative abuses, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to subvert the spirit of freedom and equality upon which our institutions are founded, and reduce them to a state of servitude, it is their right – it is their duty to abolish such laws and provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient suffering of the wealth-producing classes of the United States, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to put forth an organized and united effort for maintaining their natural rights, which are imperilled by the insidious schemes and unwarranted aggressions of unscrupulous bankers and usurers by means of unwise and corrupt legislation.

We further hold – that all property or wealth is the product of physical and intellectual labor, employed in productive industry and in the distribution of the productions of labor; that laborers ought of right, and would under a just monetary system receive or retain the larger proportion of their productions; that the wrongs, oppressions and destitution which laborers are suffering in most departments of legitimate enterprise and useful occupation, do not result from insufficiency of production but from the unfair distribution of the products of labor between non-producing capital and labor.

That money is the medium of distribution to non-producing capital and producing labor, the rate of interest determining what proportion of the products of labor shall be awarded to capital for its use, and what to labor for its productions; that the power to make money and regulate its value is an essential attribute of sovereignty, the exercise of which is by the constitution of the United States wisely and properly granted to Congress, and it is

the imperative duty of Congress to institute it upon such a wise and just basis that it shall be directly under the control of the sovereign people who produce the value it is designed to represent, measure and exchange, that it may be a correct and uniform standard of value, and distribute the products of labor equitably between capital and labor according to the service or labor performed in their production.

That the law enacting the so called national banking system is a delegation by Congress of the sovereign power to make money and regulate its value to a class of irresponsible banking associations, thereby giving to them the power to control the value of all the property in the nation, and to fix the rewards of labor in every department of industry, and is inimical to the spirit of liberty and subversive of the principles of justice upon which our democratic republican institutions are founded, and without warrant in the constitution; justice, reason and sound policy demands its immediate repeal and the substitution of legal-tender treasury notes as the exclusive currency of the nation.

That this money monopoly is the parent of all monopolies—the very root and essence of slavery—railroad, warehouse and all other monopolies of whatever kind or nature are the outgrowth of and subservient to this power, and the means used by it to rob the enterprising industrial wealth-producing classes of their talents and labor.

That as government is instituted to protect life and secure the rights of property, each should share its just and proper proportion of the burthens and sacrifices necessary for its maintenance and perpetuity, and that the exemption from taxation of bank capital and government bonds, bearing double and bankrupting rates

of interest, is a species of dangerous and unjust class legislation opposed to the spirit of our institutions, and contrary to the principles of sound morality and enlightened reason.

That our monetary, financial and revenue laws are in letter and spirit opposed to the principles of freedom and equality upon which our democratic republican institutions are founded, there is in all their provisions manifestly a studied design to shield non-producing capital from its just proportion of the burdens necessary for the support of the government, imposing them mainly on the industrial wealth-producing classes, thereby condemning them to lives of unremunerated toil, depriving them of the ordinary conveniences and comforts of life; of the time and means necessary for social enjoyment, intellectual culture and moral improvement; and ultimately reducing them to a state of practical servitude.

We further hold that while these unrighteous laws of distribution remain in force, laborers cannot, by any system of combination or co-operation, secure their natural rights. That the first and most important step towards the establishment of the rights of labor, is the institution of a system of true co-operation between non-producing capital and labor. That to effect this most desirable object, money, the medium of distribution to capital and labor, must be instituted upon such a wise and just principle that instead of being a power to centralize the wealth in the hands of a few bankers, usurers, middlemen and non-producers generally, it shall be a power that will distribute products to producers in accordance with the labor or service performed in their production—the servant and not the master of labor. This done the natural rights of labor will be secured, and co-operation in production and in the distribution

of products, will follow as a natural consequence. The weight will be lifted from the back of the laborer, and the wealth producing classes will have the time and the means necessary for social enjoyment, intellectual culture and moral improvement, and the non-producing classes compelled to earn a living by honest industry. We hold that this can be effected by the issue of treasury notes made a legal tender in the payment of all debts public and private, and convertible at the option of the holder into government bonds, bearing a just rate of interest, sufficiently below the rate of increase in the national wealth by natural production, as to make an equitable distribution of the products of labor between non-producing capital and labor, reserving to Congress the right to alter the same when, in their judgment the public interest would be promoted thereby; giving the government creditor the right to take the lawful money or the interest bearing bonds at his election, with the privilege to the holder to reconvert the bonds into money or the money into bonds, at pleasure.

We hold this to be the true American, or people's monetary system, adapted to the genius of our democratic republican institutions, in harmony with the letter and spirit of the constitution and suited to the wants of the government and business interests of the nation; that it would furnish a medium of exchange, having equal powers, a uniform value and fitted for the performance of all the functions of money, co-extensive with the jurisdiction of government. That with a just rate per cent interest on the government bonds, it would effect the equitable distribution of the products of labor between non-producing capital and labor, giving to laborers a fair compensation for their products, and to capital a just reward for its use; remove the necessity for exces-

sive toil and afford the industrial classes the time and means necessary for social and intellectual culture. With the rate of interest at three per cent on the government bonds, the national debt would be liquidated within less than thirty years without the imposition or collection of one farthing of taxes for that purpose. Thus it would dispense with the hungry hoard of assessors, tax-gatherers and government spies that are now harassing the industrial classes and despoiling them of their substance.

We further hold that it is essential to the prosperity and happiness of the people and the stability of our democratic republican institutions, that the public domain be distributed as widely as possible among the people; a land monopoly being equally as oppressive to the people and dangerous to our institutions, as the present money monopoly. To prevent this the public lands should be sold in reasonable quantities, and to none but actual occupants [and to them at the minimum price established by the government. When grants of the public land are deemed necessary for the encouragement of important public improvements, the fee simple should not be conveyed, but only the proceeds of the sale thereof.] [22]

We further hold that intelligence and virtue in the sovereignty are necessary to a wise administration of justice, and that as our institutions are founded upon the theory of sovereignty in the people, in order to their preservation and perpetuity, it is the imperative duty of Congress to make such wise and just regulations as shall afford all the means of acquiring the knowledge requisite to the intelligent exercise of the privileges and duties pertaining to sovereignty, and that Congress should ordain that eight hours labor between the rising and setting of the sun should constitute a day's work in all govern-

[22] Bracketed words struck out at session of 1868. — Eds.

ment works and places where the national government has exclusive jurisdiction, and that it is equally imperative on the several states to make like provision by legal enactment. Be it therefore unanimously

RESOLVED, that our first duty is now to provide as speedily as possible a system of general organization in accordance with the principles herein more specifically set forth, and that each branch of industry shall be left to adopt its own particular form of organization, subject only to such restraint as may be necessary to place each organization within line, so as to act in harmony in all matters pertaining to the welfare of the whole as well as each of the parts, and that it is the imperative duty of every man in each and every branch of industry to aid in the formation of such labor organizations in his respective branch and to connect himself therewith.

RESOLVED, that in co-operation, based upon just financial and revenue laws, we recognize a sure and lasting remedy for the abuses of the present industrial system, and that until the laws of the nation can be remodelled so as to recognize the rights of men instead of classes, the system of co-operation carefully guarded will do much to lessen the evils of our present system. We, therefore, hail with delight the organization of co-operative stores and workshops and would urge their formation in every section of the country, and in every branch of business. . .

RESOLVED, that where a workingman is found capable and available for any office, the preference should invariably be given to such person. . .

[On the following subjects the resolutions were identical with those of the Baltimore Congress of 1866, viz., working women, improved dwellings for laborers, strikes, mechanics' institutes, recommendation for the

unemployed to proceed to the public lands. At a later session of this Congress a motion that the platform be considered section by section was lost by a vote of twenty-three to twenty-four, and, after a speech by Trevellick in favor of greenbacks, a speech by Peabody in favor of gold and silver, and the adoption of an amendment striking out the word, "exclusive," the previous question was carried and the report was adopted as a whole.]

[By Cameron] RESOLVED, that the president of the National Labor Union is hereby instructed to issue on the first of November next, to the several organizations in affiliation with this movement, a circular requesting them to express an opinion on the following questions: First, Shall a National Labor ticket be placed before the people for their suffrages at the next presidential election? Second, If you say "aye," who is your choice for candidate? That on the first of March next the president shall, if a majority decide in favor of placing a ticket in the field, announce the fact to the several organizations, as also the names of the persons agreed upon by the greater number of organizations who shall be the nominees of this National Union. A motion to lay the same on the table was lost and the resolution adopted.

(e) EIGHT HOURS AND PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT

[By Committee on eight hours, Harding, Hibbard, Cook] WHEREAS, it is of vital importance, looking to the speedy and permanent settlement of this great question, that the national Congress should at its next session, enact a law establishing eight hours as a day's labor for all government employees; and whereas, such a bill has passed the lower house, and is now in the hands of the finance committee of the senate; therefore,

RESOLVED, that the several organizations of labor

throughout the country be requested to sign petitions prepared by the president of the National Labor Union, and forward them through the corresponding representatives to a committee of three to be appointed by the president in the District of Columbia, who shall at such time as to them may seem most appropriate, present them to Congress, asking for the adoption of such a law.

Your committee wish also further to state that Eight Hour Laws have been passed by the legislatures of six states, but for all practical purposes they might as well have never been placed on the statute book, and can only be described as frauds on the laboring classes; that your committee are not at all surprised at the course of action on the part of the state legislatures – we should have been surprised were it otherwise – for the history of past legislation shows us that whenever the laboring classes applied in any way for legislative protection to labor that they were always deceived, and that no reliance can be placed in any pledges either party makes to us.

Your committee would, therefore, in view of these facts, recommend the following resolutions:

RESOLVED, that the workingmen of the United States ought to organize themselves under the auspices of the National Labor Union, and that they proceed to elect from the ranks of labor such men as may be most suitable to represent their interests in the state and national legislatures, whose primary object shall be to enact an efficient eight-hour law.

RESOLVED, that the National Labor Congress appoint a person to represent them, and draw up a petition, addressed to the United States Congress, asking it to adopt an Eight-hour Law for the benefit of government employees, and that the several eight-hour leagues, and other labor societies in the different states, be requested

to draw up similar petitions for presentation to Congress, through the agency of the representative of the National Labor Union. [Adopted.] . . .

[By Mr. Cameron] RESOLVED, that it is the sense of this Congress that it is inexpedient for any state or locality, under existing circumstances, to attempt the adoption of the eight-hour system, until the same has been recognized by the national legislature. The resolution was not adopted. . .

[By Mr. Mitchell, of Washington] RESOLVED, that we deprecate the employment on government works of persons who are hostile to the interests of labor, in preference to others in every way more competent. That whenever such cases become known to the president of the National Labor Union, that he immediately appeal to the president of the United States for the removal of such person or persons. [Adopted.] . . .

(f) NEGRO LABOR

Mr. Phelps, from the Committee on Negro Labor, reported that, having had the subject under consideration, and after having heard the suggestions and opinions of several members of this Convention – pro and con – have arrived at the following conclusions:

That, while we feel the importance of the subject, and realize the danger in the future of competition in mechanical negro labor, yet we find the subject involved in so much mystery, and upon it so wide diversity of opinion amongst our members, we believe that it is inexpedient to take action on the subject in this National Labor Congress.

RESOLVED, that the subject of negro labor be laid over till the next session of the National Labor Congress.

The report was extensively discussed, Mr. Trevellick

taking strong ground against it on the ground that the negro will bear to be taught his duty, and has already stood his ground nobly when member of a trades union.

Mr. Harding opposed it because he did not like to confess to the world that there was a subject with which they were afraid to cope, and Mr. Green thought that the consideration of the subject had been too long deferred already. He well remembered that this very question was at the root of the rebellion, which was the war of the poor white men of the South, who forced the slaveholders into the war. (Interruption.)

Mr. Peabody was against the adoption of the report. He did not want to see a single labor organization misrepresented in that congress, black or white. The difficulty, if ever laid over, would be even greater than now.

Mr. Phelps said in New Haven there were a number of respectable colored mechanics, but they had not been able to induce the trades' unions to admit them. He asked was there any union in the states which would admit colored men.

Mr. Van Dorn was sorry that the word "black" or "colored" had been used in the convention. He believed in meeting the difficulty, however, as it had been raised, and would vote to take in the black worker as a duty to a common brotherhood. The colored man was industrious, and susceptible of improvement and advancement.

Mr. Kuykendall said that the negro or white man had not been mentioned in the constitution already adopted, and there was no need of entering on any discussion of the matter.

Mr. Mitchell had looked on the matter as being fully settled.

Mr. Cather understood the intention to be to legis-

late for the good of the entire laboring community of the United States. There was no necessity for the foisting of the subject of colored labor, or the appointment of a committee to report thereon. He had no doubt that the blacks would combine together of themselves and by themselves, without the assistance of the whites. God speed them; but let not the whites try to carry them on their shoulders.

Mr. Ellacott moved to recommit the report to the hands of the committee, and Mr. Lucker suggested that they would not be expected to report.

Several other gentlemen concurred in this view, claiming that these questions were settled when the constitution was adopted.

Mr. Gibson said it would be time enough to talk about admitting colored men to trades' unions and to the Congress when they applied for admission.

Mr. Sylvis said this question had been already introduced in the South, the whites striking against the blacks, and creating an antagonism which will kill off the trades' unions, unless the two be consolidated. There is no concealing the fact that the time will come when the "negro will take possession of the shops if we have not taken possession of the negro. If the workingmen of the white race do not conciliate the blacks, the black vote will be cast against them."

Mr. Peabody said that the capitalists of New England now employed foreign boys and girls in their mills, to the almost entire exclusion of the native-born population. They would seek to supplant these by colored workers. He thought there was little danger of black men wanting to enter white trades' unions any more than Germans would try to join the English societies in America. . .

[The report was recommitted, and the committee afterwards reported "that after mature deliberation they had come to the conclusion that the constitution already adopted prevented the necessity of reporting on the subject of negro labor." This report was adopted.]

(g) PUBLIC LANDS AND AGRICULTURE

[By Mr. Sylvis] WHEREAS, the Congress of the United States have from time to time made appropriations of large sums of money, and grants of public lands, for the special benefits of railroads and other monopolies, and for the education and elevation of a portion of the laborers of the country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that we respectfully petition Congress at its next session to appropriate $25,000,000, to aid in establishing the eight-hour system, co-operation and removal of such of the poor as wish to go to the public domain, and for the general benefit of laborers, without distinction of sex, color or locality. [Adopted.]

Mr. Sylvis called attention to an article in the morning *Tribune*, stating that the farmers of the country were not represented in this body. It was false, as there were some delegates present who represented nothing else.

[Committee on public lands:] The law-makers of both our state and national legislatures have for a long series of years made barter of the people's inheritance – the public domain – the value of which lies chiefly in its occupation and settlement. In doing this they have turned our legislative halls into brokers' marts, instead of sanctuaries of liberty. No republican government has withstood the blighting influence of land monopoly for a generation – never can, nor will. Carthage, Greece, Rome, Venice, Russia, Turkey, Austria, Germany, France, England, Switzerland, and unfortunately, our

own country, have furnished us with abundant proof of this position. In the ownership of the soil lies the true principles of manhood, independence, liberty and civilization, and the government which denies the people's rights to that ownership soon loses its vitality – if a republic – and enters upon the throes of dissolution which is but the work of time. The people's apparent indifference is the monopolist's opportunity, and availing themselves of this they have corrupted our legislative halls by subsidies, and literally stolen thousands of princely domains, the broad acres of which were only held in trust by the government for the people.

The course of our legislation recently, has tended to the building up of greater monopolies, and the creation of more powerful moneyed and landed aristocracies in the United States than any that now overshadows the destinies of Europe. Eight hundred millions of acres of the people's lands have been legislated into the hands of a few hundred individuals, who already assume a haughty and insolent tone and bearing towards the people and government, as did the patricians of ancient Rome. These lands are held unimproved, and mainly for speculative purposes. In that condition they yield neither produce nor revenue, but if they were open to settlement they would soon swarm with a busy population, by whose thrift, industry and intelligence the wilderness would then be made to blossom as the rose.

Our course in regard to the public domain in permitting mere speculators to locate with warrants and scrip vast bodies of the choicest lands, leaving only occasional strips of inferior land to be taken up by the actual settler and tiller of the soil, acts like an embargo laid on the productive energies of the people. This course has deterred many from becoming pioneers in clearing our

vast primitive forests, and cultivating the almost boundless prairies of the west. The gigantic and expensive war through which we have recently passed could and would have been avoided had the government, at an early day, adopted the policy of giving the public domain, in small parcels, to actual settlers only.

In view of the foregoing premises, we declare ourselves opposed to making any further special grants of the public domain to corporate bodies of any kind whatsoever, and we further declare ourselves opposed to the building up of a landed aristocracy in this nation, believing that it will eventually tend to the subversion of the liberty of the masses.

RESOLVED, that the policy of the government should be to give, and not to sell, the public lands to actual settlers, and none others.

RESOLVED, that all uncultivated lands held for purposes of speculation should be subjected to taxation the same as other lands in the same locality that may have been improved.

RESOLVED, that the soil, like air, water and light, is the free gift of a beneficent God to man, and we hold that the traffic in any of these elements to be sacrilegious, and in direct contravention of the designs of the Creator.

Signed by W. H. SYLVIS, JOHN HINCHCLIFFE and W. H. STEWART.

The report was adopted.

[By Mr. Green] WHEREAS, the great staple of the south—cotton—has been heretofore not only the chief basis of our commerce and exchange, but the source of profitable employment to a large portion of the laboring classes of New England who were engaged in its manufacture; and

WHEREAS, nearly every branch of industry in the north and west will suffer more or less, directly or indirectly, if the United States should, as anticipated by some, not only lose the export cotton trade, but failing to grow enough for our own domestic use, thus forcing American manufacturers to import cotton from abroad; and

WHEREAS, the British Cotton Supply Association have for a long time – been laboring to bring about such a result, so that instead of selling cotton to England the United States would have to buy cotton of them – the growth of India or Egypt; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that this congress endorse and reiterate the resolution adopted by the National Labor Congress at Baltimore last year, to the effect that the speedy restoration of the agricultural industry of the Southern States is of vital importance to the industrial classes of the north.

RESOLVED, that the speedy restoration of the Southern States to their proper practical relations in the Union, is indispensable to the restoration of their agricultural prosperity.

The resolutions were adopted.

[By Mr. Harding] RESOLVED, that a direct exchange of produce and imports ought to be established between the workingmen of the east and producers of the west, and that the labor associations in the west ought to take the place of the middle men, who now increase unduly the price of the necessaries of life, and that measures be established by said associations to effect the desirable exchange, and furnish workingmen with produce and imports, such as coffee, etc., at a cost price as near as possible. Adopted.

[A communication was received from the Westfield

Labor Association, of Chautauqua County, New York, advocating exemption of homesteads from taxation.]

(h) APPRENTICES

[By Committee on Apprentices] WHEREAS, a great difficulty exists in many mechanical branches of business, from their being overstocked with apprentices, and

WHEREAS, the time has come when the apprentice system is being more extensively used to the detriment of those who have spent years in making themselves proficient in their different trades, therefore,

RESOLVED, that the National Labor Congress recommend to the different branches of mechanics to guard with care any encroachment on the part of capital in the introduction of the apprentice system.

RESOLVED, that where apprentices are introduced into trades we would recommend that those who have served their time and have become skilled workmen, should impress upon the minds of such apprentices the propriety and necessity of an intellectual as well as mechanical culture.

RESOLVED, that in the opinion of this body, it is highly important that the legislatures of each state do pass a law regulating the relations between employers and apprentices, and do earnestly call upon the workingmen of each state to use all their influence to secure such laws as will protect employers, apprentices and journeymen.

Signed by the committee, JAMES MICHELS, E. CROSSFIELD and J. W. RITCHIE. [Adopted.]

(i) MECHANICS' LIEN

[By Mr. Harding] RESOLVED, that we feel it our duty, and do hereby pledge ourselves to use our best endeavors to secure the passage of such a law in our respective states as will better secure the mechanics and

laborers their full pay for all work done or material furnished upon any and all structures, whether the same be done by contract, sub-contract or otherwise, and recommend that the members of the respective legislatures be urged to aid in bringing about such an object. [Adopted.]

(j) LOCAL UNIONS, ETC.

[At the convention of 1871, the majority of the delegates were from unions organized under the following resolution: – EDS.]

[By Mr. Harding] RESOLVED, that the president of the National Labor Union shall have power to authorize those whom he may appoint for such purpose to organize associations of workingmen who may subscribe to the constitution and adopt the platform of the National Labor Union, with power to make by-laws, etc., for their government, provided they do not conflict with the constitution of the National Union, and whose object shall be then social and material advancement of the working classes. [Adopted.]

[A resolution was adopted favoring the publication of a national organ, and adding that "as coöperation is a vital and essential part of the labor movement" it could be "successfully introduced in the publication of a national organ." Afterward resolutions favoring the designation of certain journals as the official organs were laid on the table, after prolonged debate. The journals named were the *Workingman's Advocate* of Chicago, Boston Daily *Voice*, Grand Rapids Daily *Advocate*, Detroit *Daily Union*, Pittsburgh *Evening Advocate*, Baltimore *Laborer, Friend of Progress and Reform*, and *Welcome Workman*, of Philadelphia. Resolutions were adopted authorizing the president to employ lecturers as soon as the finances would permit, ordering re-

imbursement of the president's expenses, favoring taxation of government bonds, and a resolution introduced at the request of the Tailors' International Union protesting against the extension of the Howe sewing-machine patent. A committee, consisting of Sylvis, Lucker, Cathers, Green, Ritchie and Whaley was selected to investigate the system of coöperation. Resolutions for and against the protective tariff were laid on the table.]

(k) ELECTION OF OFFICERS

President, J. C. C. Whaley; *first vice-president*, C. W. Gibson; *second vice president*, C. H. Lucker; *secretary*, O. J. Swegles; *treasurer*, John Hinchcliffe. *Corresponding representatives*, elected by the delegates from the various states, and ratified by the Congress: New York, William J. Jessup; Pennsylvania, John W. Krepps; Connecticut, A. W. Phelps; Illinois, A. C. Cameron; Wisconsin, William Heywood; Missouri, Theodore Ayres; Ohio, I. S. Neale; Maryland, William Cather; District of Columbia, James J. Mitchell; Michigan, E. D. Burr; Kentucky, Robert W. Cowell.

Richard Trevellick was elected delegate to Europe by a vote of 33 to 50.

4. NEW YORK CONGRESS, 1868

Proceedings of the Second Session of the National Labor Union, at New York City, September 21, 1868, pamphlet, W. B. Selheimer, Printer (Philadelphia, 1868).

(a) DELEGATES

NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS – Robert McKechnie, Alexander Troup, National Typographical Union; A. W. Phelps, E. L. Roseman, Andrew Turnbull, Carpenters' and Joiners' National Union; Samuel R. Gaul, National Bricklayers' Union; Jonathan C. Fincher, International Union of Machinists and Blacksmiths.

STATE ORGANIZATIONS – Henry B. Mulhall, Julius Topp, New York State Workingmen's Assembly; J. W. Le Barnes and John Prince, Massachusetts State Central Organization of the Industrial Order of the People.

FEMALE LABOR ORGANIZATIONS – Miss Susan B. Anthony, Workingwomen's Protective Association, No. 1, New York City; Mrs. Mary Kellogg Putnam, Workingwomen's Protective Association, No. 2, New York City; Mrs. Mary A. MacDonald, Women's Protective Labor Union, Mt. Vernon, New York.

NEW YORK [City] – Wm. J. Jessup, N.Y. Workingmen's Union; James Ratchford, Bakers' Benevolent and Trade Society; Frederick Muhlmeister, United Cabinet-Makers' Union; Daniel O'Callaghan, Bricklayers' Union, No. 4; Geo. C. Platt, Union House Painters' Association; Jacob Conde, New York Carvers' Association; Henry J. Keating, Housesmiths' M.P. Association; Simon Schuck, German Varnishers' and Polishers' Association; Samuel Roberts, Gas and Steam-Fitters' As-

sociation; Thomas J. Walsh, Bricklayers' Union, No. 2; W. B. Newman, Paper Hangers' Association; Edward Gordon, Slate Roofers' Union; Conrad Kuhn, Cigarmakers' Union, No. 90; John Hewitt, United Coopers', No. 4; Patrick Welch, Laborers' U.B. Society; John Vincent, Typographical Union, No. 6; Edmond Gridley, Carpenters' and Joiners' Consolidated Union; H. Siebert, German Piano-makers' Association; R. R. Williams, Amalgamated Society of C. and J. Branch, No. 1; C. H. Lucker, Journeyman Tailors' P.B. Union; James A. Bourke, N.Y.B. and P. Society of Practical Painters.

NEW YORK [state]–John O'Donoghue, Workingmen's Assembly, Rochester; Nathaniel Gillard, Rochester Lodge, No. 20, K.O.S.C., Rochester; Jeremiah Dooley, Mason Laborers' Union, Troy; John Burns, Hudson River Laborers' Association, Verplancks; John J. Junio, Mechanical Order of the Sun, Syracuse; Joseph A. Marrow, Bricklayers' Union, No. 19, Utica; Daniel Mace, Carpenters and Joiners' Union, Albany; John Moran, Bricklayers' Union, No. 1, Brooklyn.

MARYLAND [Baltimore]–Aaron W. Stockton, Ship Joiners' Union, No. 1; Peter W. Ford, Journeymen Curriers' Association; Charles Luke, Journeymen Coopers' Union, No. 1; Ignatius Batory, Labor Reform Association; Wm. S. King, Bricklayers' Union, No. 1.

ILLINOIS–A. C. Cameron, Trades' Assembly and Typographical Union, Chicago; Alex. Campbell, Miners' Union, No. 6, La Salle; Wm. H. Clark, Hope Labor Union, Lostant.

CONNECTICUT–C. W. Gibson, Trades' Assembly, Norwich; James Grogan, Piano Carvers' Association, New Haven.

NEW JERSEY–Philip N. Stockton, Bricklayers' and

Plasterers' Union, No. 1, Jersey City; John T. Mellor, Iron Molders' Union, No. 7, Jersey City; H. W. B. Nichols, Bricklayers' Union, No. 1, Newark; John Pateman, House Painters' Union, No. 1, Newark.

OHIO – John S. Tomlinson, Trades' Assembly, Cincinnati; L. A. Hine, Labor Union, Loveland.

MICHIGAN – Wm. S. Stocker, Ionia Labor Union, No. 4, Ionia.

INDIANA – A. M. Puett, Labor Union of the State of Indiana, Greencastle.

PENNSYLVANIA – Philip McGovern, Lehigh Forge, No. 15, Iron Boilers' Union, Allentown; John McHoes, Carpenters' and Joiners' Union No. 59, Easton.

[Delegates seated after first day's convention:] A. T. Cavis, Workingmen's Assembly of the District of Columbia; William H. Duryea, Mechanics' and Tradesmen's Permanent Building Association, New York City; John Berry, Journeymen Gilders' Trade Society, New York City; J. E. Musselman, Brass Founders' and Finishers' Union, New York City; James H. Mulligan, Typographical Union, No. 4, Albany; W. H. Sylvis, Iron Molders' International Co-operative and Protective Union; E. H. Heywood, Worcester Labor Reform League, Worcester, Massachusetts; H. L. Saxton, Workingmen's Institute, Boston, Massachusetts; W. R. Goodnough, Typographical Union, No. 72, Hartford, Connecticut; F. L. Parish, Carpenters' and Joiners' Union, No. 67, Hartford; J. Jones, Labor Union, No. 2, Grand Rapids, Michigan; J. C. Horey, Workingmen's Union and Independent Order of Friendship, Black River Falls, Wisconsin; Nelson W. Young, J.P. Co-operative Association, New York City; John Maguire, Workingmen's Union of Missouri, St. Louis; S. J. Wallace, Carpenters' and Joiners' Union, No. 18, Philadelphia;

Martin Depenblenck, Bricklayers' Union, No. 12; John Ennis, Operative Plasterers' Protective and Benefit Society; Richard Trevellick, Labor Union, State of Michigan.

[The credentials of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, signed by Susan B. Anthony, secretary of the Woman's Suffrage Association, were referred by the committee to the convention, and "caused a heated debate" on the ground that the suffrage association was not a labor organization, as stipulated in the by-laws. After speeches and motions in favor by Sylvis, Lucker, Phelps, Wallace, Junio, Cavis, Miss Anthony "and others," opposed by Keating, Goodnough, Bourke, Young, "and others," the credentials were accepted, yeas 45, nays 18. Later, on objection made that endorsing female suffrage destroyed all prospects of success of an independent Labor Party, the following was adopted on motion of Cameron:]

RESOLVED, that by the admission of Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton as a delegate of this body, the National Labor Congress does not regard itself as endorsing her peculiar ideas, or committing itself to her position on female suffrage, but simply as a representative from an organization having for its object the "amelioration of the condition of those who labor for a living."

(b) REPORTS OF OFFICERS

[President Whaley's address recited the course of eight-hour legislation in Congress; stated that he had received "repeated requests from different parts of the country to call an extra session of the National Labor Union to take action upon the political issues then before the country." These he declined. He commented on the lack of funds, coöperation and strikes, apprenticeship, female labor; and recommended "workingmen to

stand aloof and independent of political parties, so that they may the better ally themselves and work with either party, as their best interest may determine." The vice-president and corresponding representative for the State of New York, William J. Jessup, reported five thousand signatures to the eight-hour petition; that he had secured addresses of one thousand labor organizations in the United States to which he had sent circulars; that the plasterers and painters of New York had secured the eight-hour day; that six coöperative foundries in New York State "have proved a grand success," as well as the shops of printers and carpenters, but that the three stores "are not as successful as other coöperative enterprises;" that the Knights of St. Crispin had made "surprising progress;" that the German working men of New York City had made "rapid strides;" that "nearly every union in this state of the once promising coach-makers' organization" had ceased to exist; that the Ship Carpenters', Caulkers' and Woolen-Spinners' Unions are also "much demoralized;" that the whole number of trade and labor unions in the state was two hundred and eighty-five, "a slight increase." Following is an extract from Jessup's report.]

Much complaint has reached me during the year from organizations located in the cities and towns bordering on the lakes and rivers, dividing the British Provinces from the United States, of the great influx every spring of Canadian labor to the American side, to the great disadvantage of the mechanics and laborers resident in such cities and towns. Many of these men work for what they can get without respect to established wages or hours. It is found to be almost impossible to sustain a trades' union in such localities, or, in fact, a protective organization of any nature. This evil is so wide spread that we

feel its deleterious effects even in this city. Buffalo, once numbering some twenty unions, has become sadly demoralized from this cause, and completely lost to all union feeling. I am requested by several organizations of the state to bring this subject to the attention of the Congress, and request that the jurisdiction of the National Labor Union be extended to the British Provinces, with the view of organizing trade and labor unions. . .

During the past winter much hardship prevailed among the mechanics and laborers of this state, in consequence of the dullness of trade and the want of employment, which had a very depressing effect on our trades' unions. At one time it was estimated that there were over twenty thousand workingmen unemployed in this city. With the coming of spring a revival of trade took place, causing a demand for labor. Our unions again revived, and many trades demanded a return to the wages formerly received, which, in most cases, was acceded to. Some strikes of minor importance took place, but were of short duration. . .

I regret to report that an obnoxious law has been exhumed from the statute books of this state, and brought to bear against the members of our unions on the charge of conspiracy. Three such cases are now before the courts of this state. The first is that of Bricklayers' Union, No. 11, of Morrisania, West Chester County, which has been decided adverse to the union, and the members convicted and fined in the sum of fifty dollars each; this case has been appealed. The second is that of Cigar-makers' Union, No. 66, of Kingston, Ulster County, for conspiracy, to be tried in November. The third is that of Raybold and Frostevant, self-styled master masons, against Samuel R. Gaul, president of the

Bricklayers' Union, No. 2, and other prominent members of the unions of this city, on the charge of conspiracy, assessing their damage at ten thousand dollars—the trial to take place in the Supreme Court. I hope some action will be had by the Congress to sustain and assist these associations in testing, even to the highest, the validity of these charges, and the obnoxious law.

[The vice-president for California, A. M. Kenaday, reported in part as follows:] My failure to report to you at the last annual Session of the Labor Congress, the condition of affairs in California, was owing to the turbulent state of feeling then existing in the ranks of our party, and the apparent uncertainty of the issue of the political campaign then progressing. . . But happily the storm is over, and a retrospective view of the events discloses the fact that every circumstance, however threatening in its aspect at the time, was essential to the glorious victory the movement was destined to achieve under the guidance of the Divine Spirit "who doeth all things well." The result of the agitation in California of the eight hour movement, reveals the cheering fact that in a little over two years from the time the subject was first mooted, the entire voting population of the state, irrespective of party, through their legal representatives, sanctioned a law which reads as follows: [It provided for eight hours, "unless otherwise expressly stipulated between the parties concerned;" eight hours in public employment; misdemeanor to require more than eight hours labor of minor child; exception of agricultural, vinicultural and horticultural labor.] Besides the above, a Lien Law and several other acts of special importance to workingmen, were passed without any serious opposition from any quarter. But by far the most important result of this eight hour agita-

tion – to those who look forward to the day when labor, organized and effectively drilled, shall assume its legitimate sphere in the body politic – is visible in the marked improvement in the character of the men engaged in the movement. A few years ago the working population of California were in a chaotic state – disorganized, and at the mercy of capitalists – with very rare exceptions. To-day, nearly every branch of skilled industry has its union, fixing its own rate of wages, and regulating its domestic differences. A spirit of independence, and a feeling of mutual confidence inspires its members, in place of the craven fear and mutual distrust which formerly animated them. Every organized trade union in that state which deems it expedient to adopt the eight hour system, obtains it by the simple passage of a resolution and public notice in the newspapers over the signatures of their officers, that after a given day they will demand the enforcement of the law. There is no strike. Employers accept the notice, and base their estimates on future contracts upon the new order of things. Seeing the earnestness which actuates the workingmen in this movement, our statesmen, divines, and public writers of every degree, naturally espouse the cause of labor as the cause of the people, without fear or dread of being stigmatized as demagogues. . .

[The Treasurer reported receipts, $485; expenditures, $449.57.]

(c) CONSTITUTION

[The following changes were made:] ARTICLE 3. The officers . . . shall consist of a president [salary $1,500], first and second vice-president (to be chosen from different states), a recording secretary, treasurer and an executive committee, consisting of one member from each state, such member to be chosen by the

delegates from their respective states, and the name furnished to the president.

ARTICLE 4. *Section* 1. The president . . . during the recess [he] shall have power to appoint members of the Executive Committee in states where they have not been chosen, and in case of non-performance of duty shall immediately remove them, and fill all vacancies. . .

ARTICLE 4, *Section* 5. It shall be the duty of the Executive Committee to correspond at least once a month with the president, giving him a synopsis of the progress of the movement in his state, and that his authority be confined to his own state. They shall have power to grant charters to organizations in their respective states who have no international or national unions, and shall have power, under the direction of the president, to organize the workingmen in their respective states into a Labor Reform Party. Failure on the part of any member of the Executive Committee to correspond with the president for two months shall be sufficient cause for his removal. The president and secretary of the National Labor Union shall be chairman and secretary of the Executive Committee. The necessary expenses incurred by the members of the Executive Committee in the performance of their duties shall be paid from the treasury.

ARTICLE 5. Seven members in any labor organization shall be sufficient to apply for a charter, which shall be granted on the payment of five dollars. But the National Labor Union shall not grant a charter to any union of the same craft, in any locality where a prior organization is existing, without the consent of the union interested.

Many delegates objected strongly to the section as it

stood, on the ground that if seven members were allowed to leave any union and form a union for themselves, it would create great discontent and dissension. Other delegates contended for it, on the ground that it would bring in additional revenue to the association. The section was adopted.

ARTICLE 8. Each local organization represented shall pay a per capita tax of one cent annually on its members; international and national organizations shall pay a direct tax of fifteen dollars; and state organizations ten dollars. The tax of all organizations shall be paid on the presentation of the credentials of the delegates, and no delegate shall be permitted to take any part in the deliberations of the union until the tax is paid.

(d) POLITICS

[The Committee on President's Address, Phelps, Vincent, and Cameron, presented the following:] Resolved, that in the opinion of your committee the very existence of the National Labor Union depends upon the immediate organization of an independent labor party, having for its object the election of representative men to our state and national councils – those who are in direct sympathy and identified with the interests of labor.

[On motion of A. T. Cavis this was amended and adopted as follows:] Provided, this shall not be understood as contemplating the nomination of presidential electors in the states during the pending presidential campaign.

[By Committee on Female Labor:] RESOLVED, that the low wages, long hours, and damaging service to which workingwomen are doomed, destroy health, imperil virtue, and are a standing reproach to civilization –

that we urge them to learn trades, engage in business, join our labor unions, or form protective unions of their own, secure the ballot, and use every other honorable means to persuade or force employers to do justice to women by paying them equal wages for equal work.

RESOLVED, that we pledge the aid of the unions represented in this congress to all workingwomen's protective associations, which are now or may be hereafter formed, in all their just and lawful demands.

RESOLVED, that each delegate to this congress be a special committee to facilitate the organization of Women's Labor Associations in their respective localities.

RESOLVED, that this congress demand the application of the eight-hour law to women's labor in the various trades and associations in which they are or may be employed.

RESOLVED, that we urge Congress and all the state legislatures to pass laws securing equal salaries for equal work to all women employed under the various departments of government.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, EDWARD P. GORDON,
J. W. LE BARNES, WM. J. JESSUP, Committee.

Mr. Keating moved to strike from the first resolution the words "secure the ballot," which was carried, and the report adopted as amended.

[Hon. Samuel F. Cary, of the second congressional district of Ohio, was endorsed for re-election as an advocate of the principles of the National Labor Union, and the "action of our fellow-workingmen of said district in making him their candidate" was "fully endorsed." The committee on platform, Cameron, Puett, Stocker, Sylvis, Mrs. Putnam, Mrs. McDonald, Hine, submitted a report, identical with the platform of 1867, but with the following additions:]

RESOLVED, that under a sound monetary system there could be no antagonism between the interests of the workingmen and workingwomen of this country, nor between any of the branches of productive industry, the direct operation of each, when not prevented by unjust monetary laws, being to benefit all the others by the production and distribution of the comforts and necessaries of life; and that the adoption, by the national government, of the financial policy set forth in this platform will put an end to the oppression of workingwomen, and is the only means of securing to them, as well as to workingmen, the just reward of their labor.

RESOLVED, that we demand the abolishment of the system of convict labor in our prisons and penitentiaries, and that the labor performed by convicts shall be that which will least conflict with honest industry outside of the prisons, and that the wares manufactured by the convicts shall not be put upon the market at less than the current market rates.

[The minority report, by L. A. Hine, opposed the currency scheme of the committee, favored gold and silver, and contended that the real remedy needed was land limitation. Mr. Hine had been a prominent lecturer of the Land Reform Movement of the forties.[23] On the section relating to strikes, adopted in 1866, the following occurred:]

Mr. Keating, of New York, said there was in the platform a section deprecating strikes. It was well known that the action of the Congress would have an influence upon the case of the bricklayers of the State of New York indicted for conspiracy, and to adopt such a clause as this would injure their cause. He moved that the section be stricken out.

[23] See volume viii, p. 60.

Miss Susan B. Anthony hoped the motion would not prevail, and said:

". . . It would be a sad mistake for a labor congress to separate without deprecating strikes, except as a last resort. In Europe, under monarchical and oligarchic governments, workingmen have often no other possible way to secure their rights; but here, if workingmen would only break away from their party affiliations, and use their political power for their own interests, they could secure all their rights without strikes. (Applause.) The only reason why workingmen have to strike in this country is, that they allow themselves to be the tools of political tricksters. (Applause.) You are all bound like slaves to one political party or the other, although you know that both parties are in the service of the capital of this nation, and that they will never propose or bring about any measure for workingmen of real permanent benefit. One party is ruled by Wall Street gamblers and A. T. Stewart, and the other is the outgrowth of a capital monopoly of which Belmont and Company are the representatives. Instead of being afraid that you will injure the cause of workingmen by passing a clause deprecating strikes, rather set yourselves earnestly to work to break yourselves and your constituency away from the enslavement of party politics. I notice here that the moment any man stands up to advocate an independent political stand for the workingmen of the country, the cry is raised that he is introducing politics, but as long as influencing or belonging to the existing parties is spoken of, no such cry is raised. Now, you do deprecate strikes, every one deprecates strikes, just as he deprecates amputations, or any surgical operation for the remedy of disease; but that is not denying that strikes and amputations are sometimes advis-

able. What you want to remove is that which makes strikes necessary, and that is subserviency to party of the workingmen of this country."

Mr. Trevellick said, that, while he perfectly agreed with the noble lady who had just spoken her views about strikes, he felt that there was a peculiar reason for striking out this clause from the platform. He was willing, for the sake of his fellow-workmen of New York, that the matter should be omitted from the present platform. He moved, in view of all the circumstances, that the section on strikes be stricken out.

Mr. Keating's amendment prevailed, and the clause was stricken out. It read as follows:

RESOLVED, that this congress deprecates what is familiarly known as strikes among workingmen, and recommend that every other honorable means be exhausted before any such course is resorted to.

[Later, the following occurred:] Mrs. Macdonald obtained the floor, and stated that when that portion of the platform relating to strikes was stricken out, the bricklayers of New York were left powerless. She therefore offered the following:

RESOLVED, that this congress recognizes in its platform the right of the workingmen and workingwomen of this nation to strike, when all other just and equitable concessions are refused. Adopted unanimously.

[On the adoption of that part of the platform relating to national finances, the following is the substance of the discussion that occurred:] Mr. Fincher said: "I object to this measure because it opens the door to speculators wider than they now have it. I speak now of the passage relative to turning the money into bonds, or the bonds into money. By such a measure we should give the bondholders the power of making the amount of

currency optional with themselves, or they could contract it at any time to answer their own purposes. In my opinion to give them any such power would be to enable them to create a panic in this country every three years, to which the panic of 1867 would be mere child's play." . .

Mr. Fincher then moved to strike out that portion of the clause in the platform which would give to bondholders the privilege of converting bonds into money, or money into bonds, at pleasure.

Mr. Cameron, of Chicago, said that was the very essence of the whole system of finance proposed by the committee.

MR. FINCHER—" We cannot have a gold and silver currency for many years to come; we must make use of paper money for the present. We are all agreed upon that. The only question is in respect of this matter of contraction and expansion. This whole theory is based upon the idea that there is always to be a national debt. But the debt will be paid off in a few years."

Mr. Hine said . . . "Never in the history of the world has wealth been so much concentrated in so short a time as in this country between the years 1863 and 1867, under the inflation to over twenty-eight dollars per head. The currency of France and England, which the gentleman says is so much larger in volume than ours, is a gold paying currency, and ours must also be redeemable currency so soon as it can be made so, before we can have a healthy trade. Gold must for ever be the measure of value the world over, and we shall trade to disadvantage with foreign peoples in proportion as our currency shall be inflated. If gold was $250 when our circulation was $900,000,000, it will be over $350 should this labor party inflate it to $1,500,000,000. Government might as well

stamp a bushel of chips and call it wheat, as a piece of paper and call it money as a measure of values. . ."

MR. TREVELLICK—"The fault we find with the present legal tender currency is that it is not made payable for all import duties. It is a mistake to regard the gold dollar as being money all over the world. It is money just so long as it is under the American flag; directly it is landed on the shores of England or France it becomes bullion. It is money no longer. It is the same with the gold and silver currency of England. They send over say £100,000 sterling, stamped with the impress of the English Government. It is money so long as it is under the British flag; but directly it is landed here in New York it becomes bullion. That disposes of the question. Gold is nothing more than a measure of exchange. A yard measures the same whether it is a yard of cloth or a yard of beech wood. The yard-stick is the measure of exchange; and so is money; and that is only a local function. What we mean by inflation is when there is too large an amount of this measure of exchange floating about in business. There must always be a sufficient amount, or business enterprises flag. A sufficient amount appears to be about thirty-five dollars per capita. France has that amount, and during the last few years she has made greater advances than any other nation on the globe. In America the rate per capita has not increased, and the small amount of money we have had has retarded our progress. There are but two great maritime powers in the world—France and England. America is not one in consequence of not having sufficient money to carry on our business enterprises. But just so long as we hold to Mr. Hine's idea, that there is but three thousand million dollars of specie in the world, and that gold is the only specie, so long we shall enable the few to

1. RICHARD F. TREVELLICK. Ship-carpenter. President, Ship-carpenters' and Calkers' International Union, 1865, and president, National Labor Union, 1871-1873. First great labor agitator. (*From tin-type*). 2. WILLIAM H. SYLVIS. Molder. President, Iron Molders' International Union, 1863-1869 and of National Labor Union, 1868-1869. First great labor organizer. JONATHAN C. FINCHER. Machinist. Secretary, International Union Machinists and Blacksmiths, 1859-1865, and editor *Fincher's Trades' Review* (Philadelphia), 1863-1865. 3. AUGUSTA LEWIS (TROUP). Printer. Organizer in 1868 of first Women's Typographical Union. Corresponding Secretary in 1870 of International Typographical Union. 4. ALEXANDER TROUP. Printer. Secretary, National Typographical Union, 1866-1867. Vice-President, National Labor Union, 1866. Secretary, New York State Workingmen's Assembly, 1869. Founder New Haven *Union*, 1871.

monopolize that money. We must be freed from this monopoly. The government alone has the right to make money. Gold and silver is not money after it passes from under the jurisdiction of the flag that passes it. It becomes simply bullion, saleable in the markets of the world as bullion. Money is a legalized agent to represent values, and does not depend on the intrinsic value of the material of which it is composed. That being the case the people must be the masters and not the servants of money. To make them so we must give the power to the holder of securities to take the legal money of the nation or the interest-bearing bonds, reducing the interest by the government to the national increase of the natural production, which is about three and one-third per cent, giving the right to reconvert the money into bonds. If this were done, we should increase the volume of currency, perhaps, to thirty-five dollars per capita, which would absorb one-half of the outstanding debt of the nation, without inflating the currency above the other nations of the earth. And the increase of the population by emigration and natural causes would absorb the entire debt of the nation in twenty-five years without taxing the people one cent. The amount of money would bear the same proportion to the population by that period as thirty dollars per capita does at present."

Mr. Cameron said that, taking three and one-third per cent as the utmost limit to which the increase by natural production can be assigned, it would be a question how long a nation could go on paying ten per cent while it is earning only three. We must reduce the rate of interest. When we come to see this, and act upon it, we shall not hear of so many men in the City of New York starving and begging, but there will be work for all to do. . .

MR. FINCHER—"The fact that I am compelled to defend this side of the question shows what a large amount of ignorance there is here in regard to financial matters. Gentlemen talk of our ships being driven from the seas in consequence of monetary pressure. There seems to be very little allowance made for the fact that we have just got through a great war—a struggle to save the life of this nation. There never was a people who came out of such a struggle among whom so little real suffering has been felt as among us. We see workingmen striking for shorter hours. Why, that fact alone shows that we are fast recuperating from the effects of the war."

MR. CLARKE—"The gentleman talks about inflating the currency. But what does the bondholder do when he wants to convert his money into currency? He throws the bonds on the market and gets specie instead. Well, he must do something with his money. He puts it into the banks which return him a proper rate of interest, because he can't make it remunerative in business. So it goes right back to the government again; and then what becomes of your inflation? All this talk about inflation is nothing but a myth. It gives the people—the whole people—power to rule this question of the currency. . . I say the objection to a gold currency is that it limits production. Look about you and inquire who it is that wants to maintain their gold currency. The merchants cling to it; the bankers cling to it; the politicians cling to it. I tell you a legalized money system is not what they want. But I believe it is what every laboring man wants. He stands up for his rights as against the capitalists. The gentleman says we have gone through the war better than any other nation could have done. Well, what enabled us to get through the war? Why, the greenbacks. And we could have gone

on for twenty years longer, if it had been necessary, upon the greenback basis. Let us, then, I say, go on and fulfill this project of making a real legal money. . ."

MR. BATORY—"The questions are: Shall money be gold? Shall money be paper? . . . The really important question is, what interest shall it bear? In England gold and silver money is worth only three per cent to the government. In America it is worth eleven per cent. Why is this? The government stands as a great insurance company to the people. It takes the money of the people upon its own responsibility. You may talk about inflation of the currency as you like. But if you inflate it ever so much it does not matter. If an ox was offered in the market for a penny, and you had not the money to pay for it, the ox would be of no use to you. . ."

Mr. McGuire said ". . . In England it costs the labor of ten men to produce one ton of iron in a day. In Missouri it costs the labor of eight men to produce a ton of iron in one day; and the iron is of better quality. Well, why don't they produce it? Here is Mr. McCarthy makes up his mind to go into the iron business, and he brings thirty or forty families down to Missouri, and determines to sink one hundred thousand dollars in the business. When he is about to set to work, the capitalists say, 'What are you going to sink all this money in such a business for?' He replies, 'Because I can get twenty per cent on my capital.' Then they tell him that he will have a great deal of labor and trouble to carry on the enterprise; whereas, if he likes, he can get twenty per cent for his money, with no risk and no trouble at all. So they persuade Mr. McCarthy to invest half of it in bonds, which bring him in eight thousand four hundred dollars, and the other half in a national bank, which

brings in nine thousand more. . . Those men in England make iron for us, while we could make better iron than they, if it were not for the high rates of interest that money will fetch here. This money should find its way into business and employment. . ."

MR. FINCHER–"I am quite sure that if this theory of converting money into bonds and bonds into money were carried out it would have very disastrous results upon the country. It is very likely that some system of convertibility will be tried as an experiment, but it is not wise to commit ourselves without reservation to such a theory." . .

MISS SUSAN B. ANTHONY–"I would be exceedingly sorry to have it go forth to the world that a Workingman's Congress could not meet here in New York and hold a session of a week without being bought up by Wall Street, as it seems to me would be the case if this platform was not adopted. . ."

MR. J. C. C. WHALEY–". . . It is by means of making bonds convertible into money and money into bonds, at the will of the holder, that we hope to keep down the system of inflation. When there is too much money in the market, it will go to the government, and be converted into bonds. The holders of these bonds, finding they can get a larger percentage for their bonds by converting them into money, and in placing them in commercial enterprises, will do so. This is the key to the whole question. . . There are three or four men before the country seeking election to Congress on the principles of this platform; if you reject the platform you will injure their cause."

MR. SYLVIS–"Of all the questions that are before the American people today, there are none so important as this financial question. I am opposed to changing one

solitary word in the platform presented here today. The question seems to be concentrated in that part of the platform looking toward converting bonds into money and money into bonds. I do not endorse our present greenback currency. It is not money – it is only a promise to pay. The beauty of the clause proposed to be struck out is, that if it once becomes the law of the land, it knocks the props from every banker and broker in America. It kills them dead. It favors the people. We never can be a free people till we get rid of this money power. The gentleman upon the right, who proposes to strike out this clause, sees in the plan we are endeavoring to carry out, a monster with two horns – expansion and contraction – and he fears that the bankers will seize hold of one or of the other of the horns and destroy the people. I do not believe it; because it will kill the bankers entirely. Under our present monetary system, all the people who are borrowers must borrow money from bankers or brokers – money shavers. The people of the United States are divided into two classes – the skinners and the skinned – the borrowers being the skinned, and the bankers the skinners. Now, under the new system proposed, we will borrow money from the Government of the United States, not from bankers; and we will get it at one or one and one-half per cent. A bank in any shape is a licensed swindle; and the greatest swindle ever imposed upon our people is our present national banking system. The new system we propose is well entitled the American system. One gentleman wants to know if our money will be taken in England. I do not care whether it is or not, as long as it is good in my country. Another gentleman says we have got too much money. I have not got too much. Has any gentleman on the floor? We have not got nearly enough money,

and what little we have is gobbled up by a few rich men in New York and elsewhere. In Pennsylvania and throughout the country there is not enough money for the purposes of business, and in the South there is none at all. The rate of interest we are paying, and always have paid in this country, is the mill-stone around the necks of the people. For the last seven years the natural increase in the wealth of this nation has not been above three per cent, while the rate of interest on money is fully fifteen – that is, if it were possible, taking twelve per cent more than there is. Of course they cannot do that, but they mortgage our labor in the future; and so every ten years the whole machine breaks down. The labor of the country cannot stand it, and we become a nation of individual repudiators. I am perfectly satisfied that this new financial system is the only salvation for the working class, to which I belong; and therefore I am so earnest about it." . .

Mr. Troup moved the previous question, which was carried. The President decided that the previous question cut off all amendments not acted upon, thus requiring the convention to vote upon the matter as reported from the committee. On an appeal being taken from the decision of the chair, the latter was sustained. The report of the committee on platform was then adopted as a whole.

[The following was adopted, on motion of Wallace:]

RESOLVED, that there be a committee of five appointed from the representatives of each state, styled an Executive Committee, with power to organize their respective states into a Labor Party. Second – Resolved, that these committees have power to frame laws to govern the action of said party, and make rules for the proper discipline of the same; and that this union recommend

the workingmen of the United States to immediately organize their respective legislative and congressional districts under the same, and place their candidates in the field, and to use their utmost efforts to elect them. Third – Resolved, that wherever there is a candidate already in the field standing on the labor platform of the union, it shall be the duty of the Executive Committee to render them all the aid and support in their power, and use all honorable means to secure their election.

[Communications were received as follows: from the Newark House Painters' Union, withdrawing their delegate, Mr. John Pateman, from the Congress, in consequence of the admission of Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton; from Mr. Ignatius Batory, tendering his resignation as a delegate to the congress, in consequence of the resolution adopted in regard to the formation of a Labor Reform Party.]

(e) CO-OPERATION

[By Committee on Co-operation:] RESOLVED, that we recognize in the idea and principle of co-operation, as applied to the various branches of industry, in whatever shape it may be applied, one of the most powerful agents for the elevation of labor, and the equitable distribution of wealth among those who produce it; that we look with pleasure upon the efforts now being made to establish co-operation in every branch of productive labor, and we believe that when the principle of co-operation is universally recognized by all the trades and callings, and put into practical operation, these unfortunate and unprofitable contests between capital and labor, called strikes or "lock-outs," will disappear from society, and labor find its just and true position.

RESOLVED, that we recommend to each labor organization, of whatever name or calling, male or female, the

practical adoption and application of the principle of co-operation.

JOHN O'DONAGHUE, AARON W. STOCKTON,
JOHN E. MUSSELMAN, Committee.

Mr. Keating objected to the language in the report relative to strikes, and argued in favor of their legitimacy.

Mr. Sylvis was in favor of the report as read, and thought that strikes were a necessary evil, but were a valuable school to the workingmen. He favored with all his heart the idea of co-operation among the industrial classes, and argued that this principle was fully understood by the workingmen. Strikes would be dispensed with, and the profits now pocketed by the capitalists would be divided among the producers.

The debate was participated in by Messrs. Hine, McKechnie, Ennis and others, including Mr. Batory, who offered the following as an amendment:

RESOLVED, also, that whenever the working and all other classes whose interests are identical shall succeed in assuming the management of the legislature of the country, and are enabled to repeal the partial laws and enact laws that are impartial in their effect, the necessity for co-operation against combination will cease.

Mr. Batory in his remarks stated that the strike of the New York bricklayers had cost the various Trades' Unions so much money, it was feared that many of them would be broken up. . .

Mr. Walsh claimed that the bricklayers of New York were the instrument through which the workingmen of the state would abolish the obnoxious conspiracy law which had just come to light on the statute book. He denied the statement of Mr. B., and claimed, as the result of a four months' strike, that there were now over

fifteen hundred bricklayers working eight hours per day in the city, and that, notwithstanding the statements of the bosses, it was not true that they (the bosses) had all the ten hour men they needed. He wished the yeas and nays called, to find whether the convention would bear the previous speaker out in his statement relative to the demoralization caused by the money contributed to the support of the bricklayers.

[The Convention adjourned for the day, but before final adjournment of the congress a motion by Walsh prevailed, "that so much as made mention of strikes be omitted from the report," and the report, thus amended, was adopted.]

(f) PROTECTION AND IMMIGRATION

[By Mr. Cavis] WHEREAS, Congress and the political parties of the United States favor the policy of protecting American industry by duties on imports; and whereas, Congress and the state legislatures have, by legislation, encouraged the introduction of foreign labor into the industries of the country, which labor, when brought here, comes into direct competition with American labor, whose protection is the avowed policy of the government: And whereas, federal and state legislation has chartered companies to procure immigrants, and Congress has donated large bodies of public lands to such companies, therefore

RESOLVED, that Congress has no constitutional power to protect industrial investments at the expense of operative labor.

RESOLVED, that the chartering of immigrant companies is a direct attempt to control the price of home labor, and is hereby reprobated and denounced.

RESOLVED, that Congress is invested with no authority

to bestow the public lands upon private corporations, particularly when such corporations use their franchises to bring the cheap labor of Europe into competition with the dearer labor of the United States.

Mr. Fincher moved the adoption of the resolutions as read. Carried. . .

[At a later session the following communication was read, and referred to the President with power:]

TO THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS of the National Labor Union: Acting under instructions from the honorable body I have the honor to represent, I would most respectfully call your attention to the following preamble and resolutions:

WHEREAS, the present military laws of Germany and France, requiring young men to serve an enlistment in the army when they arrive at the age of twenty-one years, coupled with the present state of political affairs, brought on by the unwise action of the despotic rulers of Europe, is at present filling our seaport towns with skilled mechanics and artizans, who do not understand the language of the country, and are wilfully imposed upon by agents of the "Emigrant Aid Society," which we all know is a machine run by capitalists. These men, when they arrive, as a general rule, have but little money; consequently they are compelled to work at starvation prices, when they can get work, which is sometimes no easy matter, as you are very well aware that we stand no chance of competing with these men, if common humanity did not require us to take some action in the matter; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the officers of this body be appointed a committee for the purpose of adopting the necessary measures to have the charter, now held by the "American Emigrant Society" from the United States, revoked; and be it further

RESOLVED, that the said committee also take the necessary steps, by correspondence, or organs printed in the various European languages, to have the laborers of Europe posted on our positions in relation to them.

HENRY B. MULHALL
Delegate from the New York State Trades' Assembly.

The President, retiring from the chair, read from the New York *Herald* an article on the "Emigrant Aid Society," and characterized the institution as one of the most infamous on the continent. Mr. J. C. C. Whaley corroborated the remarks of President Sylvis, and urged the repeal of its charter. . .

[By Mr. Schuck] WHEREAS, the Labor Congress now in session have, by resolutions, requested the United States Congress to rescind the charter of the "Emigrant Society," in the hands of capitalists: and whereas, a German journal of this city has had the effrontery to slander the German delegates in this convention, in consequence of their support of the resolution, and has ignored the real tendency of the same; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that we, the German delegates of this congress, do solemnly protest against the assertions and insinuations of said journal, as we well know, without the advice of said journal, what is beneficial for ourselves and the workingmen of America. [Adopted.]

(g) ACCIDENTS

We, the undersigned, your committee appointed to consider the subject relative to the danger and destruction of human life which frequently occurs during the erection of buildings, and various other mechanical structures, do hereby respectfully submit the following report, viz: Whereas, it is a notorious fact that fatal so-called accidents have frequently occurred through a culpable, if not criminal, disregard or neglect of em-

ployers generally for the protection of human life during the erection of buildings and other mechanical operations. Therefore, we earnestly recommend that the various state legislatures of this nation would pass a law that would hold liable said employers; if they are not responsible, hold liable the owners of the property on which any such accident may occur; providing such accident can be proved to be a disregard or neglect of such employers or owners.

PATRICK WALSH, THOMAS J. WALSH,
JOHN MCHOES, Committee.

Mr. Fincher moved to amend by inserting after "buildings" the words "working mines," which was agreed to. Mr. E. L. Roseman moved to include streets and wharves, which was lost, and the report was adopted.

(h) DEPARTMENT OF LABOR AND CENSUS STATISTICS

[By Mr. Sylvis] WHEREAS, in looking out over society, we find the protecting arm of the law thrown around every enterprise having for its object the accumulation of wealth, and the utmost care taken to foster and encourage the undertakings of the rich, and to assist capital in all monopolies; and whereas, we find, as a part of our government at Washington, a Department of State, of War, of the Navy, of the Interior, of Finances, and others of a similar character, all supposed to be for the benefit of all the people, but sadly prostituted in their administration, and used almost exclusively for furthering the projects of the rich and powerful of the land; and whereas, there is no department of our government having for its sole object the care and protection of labor, and the various enterprises and undertakings of workingmen, having for their object an equitable dis-

tribution of the products of industry, and the elevation of those who labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the president of this body, and four others to be appointed, shall constitute a committee, who shall prepare a petition, to be by them presented to Congress, asking the creation of a new department at Washington, to be called a "Department of Labor;" said department to have charge, under the laws of Congress, of the distribution of the public domain, the registration and regulation, under a general system, of trade unions, co-operative associations, and all other organizations of workingmen and women having for their object the protection of productive industry, and the elevation of those who toil.

RESOLVED, that said committee shall prepare a petition, to be circulated among the working people of the country for signatures, asking for such a department; and that said committee shall take whatever steps may be in their opinion necessary to secure the objects herein set forth.

Mr. Keating moved that the resolutions be referred to the committee on public domain.

Mr. Sylvis said he did not wish the subject burlesqued. It was, in his opinion, a very important matter; and he had studied it for years. We were fifty years behind Prussia, which nation had a labor department in its government, presided over by one of the ablest men of the day. There the working class has the arm of government thrown around it, and is properly protected. In this country of ballots and spread-eagles, when we ask anything of Congress we are laughed at. He did not purpose to be laughed at any longer, and declared himself an enemy to every man who is against the class to which he (Mr. S.) belonged.

Mr. Fincher seconded the resolutions, in a few remarks, and they were adopted unanimously.

[By L. A. Hine] WHEREAS, statistics officially collected are indispensable to the studies of the statesman; that as far as our present official reports give the facts, it is easier to tell how many horses are well stabled than how many families are well housed – easy to find out all that concerns the capitalist, but difficult to discover the actual condition of the great mass of the people; therefore,

RESOLVED, that we respectfully request Congress to provide in the act for taking the approaching census, for a thorough inquiry to be made into the facts that concern the whole people; as, for example, a classification of the distribution of wealth and incomes, the number engaged in the several avocations, together with the wages, salaries and profits received therein; also, facts as to the employment of women, and the remuneration received by them; also, how many families occupy their own homes, and how the soil is divided among the people, how many own the real estate in cities, and what amounts the several classes of monopolists own; how many farms there are of fifty acres and under; how many between 50 and 100 acres, between 100 and 200 acres, between 200 and 500 acres, and how many have over 500 and under 1,000 acres; also how much land is held by individuals above 100 acres, and how much by non-residents, together with such further facts as the Congress may perceive to be necessary to a thorough comprehension of the condition of the people. Adopted.

(i) MISCELLANEOUS RESOLUTIONS – OFFICERS

[Other resolutions were adopted as follows: recommending *A New Monetary System*, by the late Edward Kellogg and a work by Hon. Alex. Campbell of La

Salle, Illinois, on finance; adopting the *Workingman's Advocate* of Chicago and the *Arbeiter Union* of New York as national labor organs, and recognizing the *Revolution*, edited by Susan B. Anthony as "an able and well conducted advocate of our principles," and entitled to "full and impartial support;" providing for the draft of a uniform apprentice law; asking that the bankruptcy law be amended so as to give wages, in full, the first claim on the assets; urging repeal of "all common or statute laws justifying criminal prosecution of workingmen as conspirators for peacefully defending their trade rights," and calling on unions for the means necessary to defend suits; disapproving of the delays in civil courts in proceedings of suits for salary; appointing a committee to wait on the attorney-general of the United States and secure his official construction of the Eight-hour Law; rejoicing in the abolition of slavery, urging the restoration of the Southern States and inviting "the working classes of the South to join with us in the movement we have undertaken;" thanking Richard Trevellick "for his indefatigable exertions during the past four years;" thanking Miss Kate Mullaney, "Chief Directrix" of the Collar Laundry Workingwomen's Association of Troy, New York, "for her indefatigable exertions in the interests of workingwomen;" supporting the bricklayers on strike in New York for eight hours, and endorsing the New York *Sun* and *Star* for their support of the bricklayers; and a resolution introduced by a Coopers' delegate condemning "the wide-spread use of old, dirty, and infected barrels, by manufacturers and dealers, in packing flour, meal and sugars." Officers elected: *president*, Wm. H. Sylvis; *first vice-president*, C. H. Lucker; *second vice-president*, A. T. Cavis; *recording secretary*, John Vincent; *treasurer*, A. W. Phelps.]

5. PHILADELPHIA CONGRESS, AUGUST 16-23, 1869

(a) DELEGATES

Workingman's Advocate, Sept. 4, 1869.

INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS – J. F. Myers, Iron Moulders' International and Coöperative, and Protective Union; W. A. Shields, John Dunn, James Beatty, International Typographical Union; A. W. Phelps, E. L. Roseman, National Carpenters' and Joiners' Union; O. B. Daly, president International Machinists' and Blacksmiths' Union.

STATE ORGANIZATIONS – Fred. Baker and John Hihn, Grand Lodge, Knights of St. Crispin, Pa.; Peter P. Brown and R. M. Ager, United Hod Carriers' and Laborers' Association, Pa.; Otto Kirsch, Fred. Lyder, Central Labor Union, Pa.; Hugh Cameron and —— Dunlap, State Labor Union, Kansas.

MASSACHUSETTS – S. P. Cummings, Putnam League, No. 42, Knights of St. Crispin, Danvers; Martha M. Wallbridge, Excelsior League, No. 3, Stoneham; Charles McLean, Labor Reform Institute, Boston; S. B. Pratt, Labor Reform League, Worcester; E. B. Lawton, Boatbuilders' and Sparmakers' Union, Charlestown; David Powers, Workingmen's Association, Springfield; Leonard C. Segus, Unity League, No. 3, Knights of St. Crispin, Lynn.

CONNECTICUT – Joseph H. Powell, Mechanics' Protective Union, Bridgeport; Albert R. Harrison, Citizens' Labor League, New Haven.

NEW YORK – W. J. Jessup, Workingmen's Union,

New York City; Conrad Kuhn, Cigarmakers' Union, No. 90; M. R. Walsh, Typographical Union, No. 6; Fred Peyer, Framers' Union; Fred. Hik, German Oak Lodge, No. 142, Knights of St. Crispin; Simon Shuck, German Varnishers' Association; James Carr, Iron Moulders' Union, No. 25, John M. Bassong, Carvers' Association; Fred Tourelle, Barbers' Union; Wm. McPhail, Mutual Benefit and Protective Society of Operative Painters; Wm. Gudenrath, Machinists' and Metal Workers' Union; S. Mayer, Tailors' Union, No. 1, and Labour Union, No. 5; Edmund Gridley, Carpenters' and Joiners' Union, No. 5, [and?] Knights of St. Crispin; W. C. Tucker, Journeymen Tailors' Protective and Benefit Union; Peter J. Meaney, Iron Moulders' Union, No. 96; Fk. Homringhausen, United Cabinet Makers' Union; Jacob Stoft, Cigarmakers' Union, No. 97, Brooklyn; Henry Stumpf, Tailors' Union, No. 2, Brooklyn; Nathaniel Gillard, Workingmen's Association of Monroe County, Rochester; W. Wilkins, Knights of St. Crispin.

NEW JERSEY – Wm. Manks, League No. 2, Druggist Glass Blowers' Union, Melville; John H. Jones, Labor Union, Camden; John L. Sharp, Labor Union, No. 1, Melville.

PENNSYLVANIA – H. G. Neil, Ironmoulders' Union, No. 1, Philadelphia; John H. Thomas, United Hodcarriers' Union; Earnest Louis, Mechanics' Association; Hugh Bryson, Philadelphia Lodge, No. 121, Knights of St. Crispin; Wm. H. Wheller, Carpenters' and Joiners' Union, No. 89.

PROGRESSIVE REFORM ASSOCIATIONS – James Roane, United Hod Carriers' Union, No. 2; James W. McCormic, Journeymen Plumbers' Union; Philip Kebscher, German Garment Cutters' Association; Francis Snyder,

Silk Weavers' and Tassel Makers' M. H. Society; Englebert Grudell, United Cabinetmakers' Union; Ed. M. Davis, Chelton Hill, Millstown, Protective Association; Wm. J. McCarty, Engineers' P. Union, St. Clair; W. J. Dunlap, Ironmoulders' Union, No. 32, Lawrenceville; James C. Sylvis, Labor Union, Sunbury.

MARYLAND – Hugh Potter, Journeymen Oak Coopers' Union, No. 2, Baltimore; Michael McMahon, Ironmoulders' Union, No. 19, Baltimore; Patrick Regney, Ironmoulders' Union, No. 24; Aaron W. Stockton, Ship Joiners' Union; Chas. Luke, Journeymen Coopers' Union, No. 1; Thos. Cullington, Cigarmakers' Union, No. 1; Robert H. Butler (colored), Engineers' Association; Isaac Myers, Caulkers' Trade Union Society; Ignatius Batory, Moulders' Union Society; James W. W. Hare, Printers' Society; A. T. Cavis, Workingmen's Assembly, Washington, D.C.; W. H. Stywold, Ironmoulders' Union, No. 128, Richmond.

TENNESSEE – Henry N. Cramer, Labor Union, No. 1, Nashville; John Gunn, Ironmoulders' Union, No. 205, Knoxville; Wm. Black, Ironmoulders' Union, No. 55, Nashville; Thomas Moffett, Ironmoulders' Union, No. 66.

MISSISSIPPI – H. C. Goode, Machinists' and Blacksmiths' Union, No. 1, Water Valley; A. W. West, Labor Union, No. 1, Water Valley; Hal. T. Walker, Ironmoulders' Union, No. 154, Mobile, [Alabama]; C. Ben Johnson, Ironmoulders' Union, No. 174, Columbus, [Georgia.]

[ILLINOIS] – William Cogswell, Ironmoulders' Union, No. 192, Ottawa; Alexander Campbell, Labor Union, No. —, Eden, La Salle County; A. C. Cameron, Bricklayers' Union, No. 2, Chicago; Fred Retz, German Workingmen's Central Protective and Benefit So-

ciety, Chicago; W. H. Clark, Labor Union, No. 2, Lostant; George Keen, Labor Union, Nos. 1 and 2, McGregor, [Iowa]; R. Trevellick, Harnessmakers' Union, Detroit, [Michigan]; Moses W. Field, Labor Union, No. 1, Detroit, [Michigan].

MISSOURI – H. O. Sheldon [Ohio?].

PENNSYLVANIA – J. M. Williams, General Council of the Miners and Laborers, Tamaqua; Isaac C. Weiss, Workingmen's Union, Philadelphia.

WISCONSIN – Joseph C. Storey, Laborers' Union, No. 1, Black River Falls; L. DeWolf, Ironmoulders' Union, No. 125, Milwaukee.

NEBRASKA – Clinton Briggs, Laborers' Union, No. 1, Omaha.

A. M. Winn, Mechanics' State Council, San Francisco, Cal.; J. B. Haney, Grand Rapids, Mich.

[Objection was made by Walsh, of the Typographical Union, to the admission of Susan B. Anthony on the ground that the Workingwomen's Protective Association, of which she was president, was not a bona-fide labor organization; and that she had striven to procure situations for girls from which the men had been discharged, at lower wages than the men received. Her admission was favored by Puett, Trevellick, McLean, Cameron, Miss Wallbridge, Cummings, and opposed by Walsh, Kuhn, West, Daly. Several others spoke on the subject, including Miss Anthony, and finally her credentials and fee were returned to her on a vote of sixty-three yeas and twenty-eight nays. The name of "Mr. West, from the political association of New York" was objected to, but afterwards accepted.]

[After prayer by Rev. John Kemp, of Philadelphia, and an eulogy on the late president, William H. Sylvis, delivered by Cameron, the incomplete president's ad-

dress prepared by Sylvis was read, showing that he had opened extensive correspondence, distributed circulars, and appointed a committee of five to reside in Washington during the session of Congress; he also stated that the speeches by Samuel F. Cary, Benjamin F. Butler, and Senator Sprague had aroused the attention of the whole country to the measures of the National Labor Congress. President Lucker spoke of the revival of the conspiracy laws; the imprisonment of two men in Schuylkill county, Pennsylvania, "simply because they were members of a workingmen's union;" the progress of eight-hour legislation; the revival of the coolie trade; the failure of coöperation to take "that hold among the producers that their importance entitles them to;" he endorsed the formation of a National Labor Party, "to capture Washington, not with bullets, but with ballots, in 1872;" recommended the appointment of a delegate to the international congress at Basle; and reported the following charters issued by the National Labor Union, given in the order granted:]

No. 1, of Wisconsin, at Black River Falls; No. 1, of Pennsylvania, Eastern; No. 1, of Iowa, McGregor; No. 1, of Tennessee, Nashville; No. 1, of Illinois, Chicago; No. 1, of New York (city), cigar-makers; No. 2, of Pennsylvania, Williamsport; No. 1, of Ohio, Salem; No. 2, of New York, Verplanck's Point; No. 2, of Ohio, Painesville; No. 3, of New York City; No. 1, of New Jersey, Millville; No. 2, of Illinois, Lostant; No. 1, North Carolina, Wilmington; No. 4, New York, Haverstraw; No. 1, of Nebraska, Omaha; No. 2, of Nebraska, Omaha (Scandinavian); No. 5, of New York, New York City; No. 2, of Iowa, McGregor; No. 1, of Georgia, Atlanta; No. 1, of Mississippi, Water Valley; No. 6, of New York (city); No. 2, of Wisconsin, Mil-

waukee; No. 7, of New York, Peekskill; No. 3, of Illinois, Ottawa; No. 1, of Kansas, Leavenworth, and No. 4, of Illinois, ——.

(b) "PLATFORM OF THE LABOR REFORM PARTY"

Workingman's Advocate, Sept. 11, 1869, p. 4, col. 3.

[The platform adopted by the convention of 1869 contained, beside the resolutions quoted below, the following which were identical with those of previous years: recommending working men to proceed to the public lands (1866); improved dwellings (1866, 1867, 1868); preference for working men in public office (1867, 1868); contract labor in prisons and penitentiaries (1868). The resolution adopted with reference to the protection of women wage-earners was substantially the same as those of 1866, 1867, and 1868; and that concerning the establishment of lyceums, mechanics' institutes, and reading-rooms was very similar to those of 1867 and 1868.]

WHEREAS, it is not deemed advisable to change or modify the existing declaration of principles, but to reaffirm the same, and for practical use enunciate the substance thereof in a more convenient and concise form, with some additional resolutions; and,

WHEREAS, all political power is inherent in the people, and free government founded on their authority and established for their benefit; that all free men are equal in political rights, and entitled to the largest political and religious liberty compatible with good order of society, as also the use and enjoyment of the fruits of their labor, and talents and no man or set of men are entitled to exclusive, separate emoluments, privileges or immunities from the government but in consideration of public service; and any laws destructive of these fundamental

principles are without moral binding force, and should be repealed. To do so, however, is a difficult work, when such laws or usages are interwoven with pride, prejudices and selfishness. Besides, experience shows that laboring people are, more than others, disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to organize for their abolition, and,

WHEREAS, we are admonished by the imperilled rights of labor throughout the United States to organize and agitate in our own behalf with the decree, "in the sweat of the face shalt thou eat bread," and the adage that "The price of liberty is eternal vigilance," enthroned in our hearts and emblazoned as mottoes on our banners, assured of success over corrupt political schemes and the speculators and banker who are preying like harpies upon the fruits of honest labor, and thus restore to our political and social system that equilibrium of rights and justice so necessary to good government and domestic tranquillity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that laborers in all departments of useful industry are suffering from a system of monetary laws which were enacted during the late war, as measures, it was assumed necessary to the life of the nation, and which is now sought to be perpetuated in the interest of bondholders and bankers as a means to subvert the government of our fathers, and establish on its ruins an empire, in which all political power shall be centralized to restrain and oppress the rights of labor, and subordinate its votaries to the merciless demands of aggregated capital and supercilious authority.

RESOLVED, that the national banking system, being inimical to the spirit of liberty, and subversive of the principles of justice and without warrant in the constitution

of the United States, and wrongfully increasing the burdens of the wealth-producing classes millions of dollars annually, justice, the aspirations of honest industry, and the spirit of imperilled liberty demand its immediate repeal and the substitution of legal tender notes as the exclusive currency of the nation.

RESOLVED, that the "National Labor Union" is opposed to the continuation and creation of banks by acts of incorporation, by either state or national authority, with the privilege of making, issuing, or putting in circulation, any notes, bills or other paper of any other bank to circulate as money, except the "legal-tender treasury notes" therein contemplated.

RESOLVED, that the present rate of interest is in excess of and disproportionate to the increase of national wealth, and being the governing power in the distribution of the products of capital and labor, is oppressive to the producing classes.

RESOLVED, that the revenue laws of the United States should be altered so that, instead of subordinating labor to capital, they may afford just protection to labor and the industrial interests of the whole country.

RESOLVED, that the legal-tender money should be made a legal-tender in the payment of all debts, public and private, and convertible at the option of the holder into government bonds, bearing interest at the rate of three per cent per annum, with privilege to the holder to reconvert the bonds into money or the money into bonds, at pleasure.

RESOLVED, that the claim of the bondholders, that the bonds which were bought with greenbacks, and the principal of which is by law payable in currency, should nevertheless be paid in gold, is unjust and extortionate.

RESOLVED, that the exemption from tax of bonds and securities, is a violation of the just principal of revenue laws.

RESOLVED, that land monopolies are at variance with the doctrine that "all freemen when they form a social compact are equal in rights," and if persisted in, must ultimately result in the subversion of free institutions, as also the social and political well-being of the laboring masses. To prevent this calamity, the public lands adapted to agriculture should be given, in reasonable quantities, to none but American citizens, and such as have declared their intention to become citizens. Individual owners of extensive tracts of land should be encouraged to dispose of the same in small parcels, at reasonable prices, to actual settlers, that may thus become identified with the soil, as responsible, intelligent citizens. . .

RESOLVED, that as labor is the foundation and cause of national prosperity, it is both the duty and interest of government to foster and protect it. Its importance, therefore, demands the creation of an Executive Department of the government at Washington, to be denominated the Department of Labor, which shall aid in protecting it above all other interests.

RESOLVED, that the protection of life, liberty, and property, are the three cardinal principles of government, and the two first more sacred than the latter; therefore, money necessary for prosecuting wars should, as it is required, be assessed and collected from the wealth of the country, and not be entailed as a burden on posterity.

RESOLVED, that the National Labor Congress earnestly recommends the adoption of such measures among all classes of workmen, in all sections of the country, as will secure the adoption of the eight hour system, and calls

upon the respective state legislatures to follow the example of the national Congress, in recognizing eight hours as a legal day's work.

RESOLVED, that voluntary associations of workingmen and women are entitled, at the hands of legislation, state and national, to the same chartered rights and privileges granted to associated capital, and we demand their practical recognition and enforcement.

RESOLVED, that political equality being one of the cardinal principles of this organization, we therefore urge full restoration of civil rights to every American citizen, except such as have been convicted of felony.

RESOLVED, that we are unalterably opposed to the importation of a servile race for the sole and only purpose of pauperising the labor of the American workingmen. . .

RESOLVED, that we demand the rigid enforcement of the law of Congress of 1861,[24] prohibiting coolie importation. . .

[The constitution was not changed at this session, but the president was authorized to appoint a committee on ways and means, and a standing Executive Advisory Committee of five to serve until the next Congress, and to prepare an address to the people of the United States.]

(c) RESOLUTIONS AND OFFICERS

(1) Hours of Labor.

Workingman's Advocate, Sept. 4, 1869, p. 2, col. 4.

Mr. Kuhn, of New York, offered and read the following:

RESOLVED, that the president in conjunction with the Executive Committee, be required to draft an exact and specified plan, according to which all trades unions of a

[24] This law was not enacted until 1862.—EDS.

state have to act unitedly, for the purpose of availing themselves of all proper means for the enforcement of an eight-hour law of their state, which shall be binding on any craft, and in which law the punishment for its violation shall be stipulated, the following features of the plan being proposed:

1. All trades unions to endeavor to abolish piece work, and to introduce day's work.

2. The trades' unions of every state to centralize themselves.

3. The state in which the centralization of the trades' unions has made the greatest progress will take the lead by practical actions, and should be supported materially by the other states.

4. As soon as the proper time has arrived labor shall be stopped at the same time and simultaneously in all trades of a state, in order to enforce the eight-hour law.

This was amended by striking out the words "piece-work," and making it read, "that we abolish piece work whenever it is practicable."

(2) Conspiracy Laws.
Workingman's Advocate, Sept. 4, 1869, p. 2, col. 4.

[By committee on obnoxious laws] WHEREAS, there exists on the statutes of the several states, enactments making it a penal offence for the American mechanic and laborer to combine for self-protection to secure his inalienable rights, a fair day's wages for a fair day's work; and whereas, such laws have been passed exclusively in the interest and for the benefit of the capitalist, antagonistic to the spirit of American liberty; and whereas, there is no redress for the mechanic or laborer in the State of Pennsylvania to make an appeal, if in his judgment he thinks he is unjustly tried and convicted under this tyrannical law; therefore,

RESOLVED, the workingmen of the United States emphatically demand their unconditional repeal.

WM. J. MCCARTY, THOS. CULLINGTON, WM. RAY.

Agreed to.

[By Wm. J. McCarty of Pennsylvania] RESOLVED, that a committee of one from each state be appointed to wait upon the legislatures of the several states to recommend the repeal of all laws injurious to the working-classes of the respective states, and each committee report to the next general congress of the National Labor Union what are the most obnoxious laws in their respective states. Agreed to.

(3) Southern Labor.

Workingman's Advocate, Sept. 4, 1869, p. 2, col. 6.

[By Mr. Horace Day, of New York] RESOLVED, that the National Labor Union knows no north, no south, no east, no west, neither color nor sex, on the question of rights of labor, and urge our colored fellow members to form organizations in all legitimate ways, and send their delegates from every state in the union to the next congress. Agreed to.

Mr. Walker, of Alabama, asked leave to address the congress briefly. He then eloquently thanked the congress in behalf of the South for the generous, brotherly, and thoroughly patriotic position which it had assumed toward that portion of the country, and predicted the excellent effect which its action would have in helping to heal the soreness which still exists between the different sections of the country.

In response to a general call, Gen. West of Mississippi also addressed the Congress in the same strain.

Mr. Robert H. Butler (colored), of Maryland, in behalf of the colored delegates, also returned thanks for their reception. He said they did not come seeking for

parlor sociabilities, but for the rights of manhood. (Applause.) He deprecated the coolie trade. . .

[By Mr. Wilkins, of New York] RESOLVED, that R. M. Adger, Peter H. Brown, John H. Thomas, James Roane and Robert Butler be appointed a committee to organize the colored working men of Pennsylvania into labor unions, with instructions to report progress to the president of the International Labor Congress, at the next session thereof. Agreed to.

(4) Labor Statistics.
Workingman's Advocate, Sept. 4, 1869, p. 2, col. 4.

Mr. Kuhn (N.Y.), in behalf of the New York German Labor Union, offered the following:

RESOLVED, that it shall be the duty of each labor organization to reply quarterly to the following questions: 1. The names of the labor union. 2. The number of their members. 3. How many are their usual hours of daily labor? 4. What is the usual amount of their wages? 5. What is the average of their cost of living? 6. Have they steady or unsteady work? 7. How many of them have been out of employment for the last three months? 8. Are those that have work fully employed? 9. Has there been a rise or fall in their wages during the last five years? 10. How many members have been prevented from working on account of sickness during the last three months and how many have died? 11. Have they tried co-operative production, and what is the result? Aside from giving these answers, it is left to the choice of every trades union to add any other interesting or important facts. After much debate the above was adopted. . .

[By A. T. Cavis] RESOLVED, that it shall be the duty of the committee on labor department, with the co-operation of the president, to cause to be prepared a

series of questions designed to gather statistics during the taking of the census of 1870, stating the cost of production in all departments of industry, the cost of transportation thereon to market, classification of the modes of conveyance, the cost when put upon the market, and the prices paid by the consumers or at the point of export, and press their adoption upon the congress of the United States through the census committee. [Adopted.]

[Resolutions were also adopted as follows: appointing a committee to appeal for funds, one-half of which should go to erect a monument to William H. Sylvis and one-half "to the maintenance of his wife and children and the education of the latter;" directing the president to address a circular to all labor organizations asking for a contribution of five cents a member to pay the president's salary and expenses; electing A. C. Cameron delegate and C. H. Lucker associate delegate to the International Congress at Basle, Switzerland; expressing thanks due to Peter Cooper for his "well-timed defence of our American monetary system;" advocating exemption from taxation of those not owning "surplus property beyond what is necessary to support and educate a citizen's family;" defending the locked-out miners of Pennsylvania and charging the mining monopolies, transportation monopolies and city speculators as responsible for the high prices of coal.

[Reports of committees not acted upon were referred to committee on platform; strongly re-affirming the importance of coöperation; opposing the importation of contract coolies, and holding that "voluntary Chinese emigrants ought to enjoy the protection of the laws like other citizens;" advocating thorough organization of female labor, "the same pay for work equally well

done," "equal opportunities and rights in every field of enterprise and labor;" urging memorial to Congress for reimbursement of government employees whose wages were reduced twenty per cent when the eight-hour law took effect; demanding eight hours for convicts, and the system now known as "public account" instead of the contract system; condemning the "alliance existing between the Associated Press and the Western Union Telegraph Company" and demanding a government telegraph.]

Officers elected: *president*—Richard Trevellick, Michigan; *first vice-president*—A. T. Cavis, District of Columbia; *second vice-president*—Conrad Kuhn, New York; *secretary*—H. J. Walls, Pa.; *treasurer*—A. W. Phelps, Connecticut.

6. THE NATIONAL COLORED LABOR CONVENTION, 1869

(a) AS SEEN BY A WHITE LABOR UNIONIST

American Workman (Boston), Dec. 25, 1869, p. 2. Notwithstanding the efforts of the National Labor Union to enroll the colored laborers in the organization, a separate organization was formed, which held its first convention on December 6, 1869, at Washington, D.C. A second convention was held at Washington, January 12 and 13, 1871. The following account of the proceedings of the first convention was written by Samuel P. Cummings, a leading Knight of St. Crispin, and delegate to the National Labor Congress of 1869, 1870, and 1872.

The Convention of colored men at Washington last week was in some respects the most remarkable one we ever attended. We had always had full faith in the capacity of the negro for self-improvement, but were not prepared to see, fresh from slavery, a body of two hundred men, so thoroughly conversant with public affairs, so independent in spirit, and so anxious apparently to improve their social condition, as the men who represented the South, in that convention. Our experience with them has exalted them in our estimation immensely, and we feel as though the future of the colored race on this continent was secure. The convention was called to order by Mr. Myers, of Baltimore, and Geo. T. Downing of Rhode Island, was chosen temporary chairman; and, upon assuming his position, Mr. D. made one of the best speeches on the labor question we ever heard. It was a gem in its way, and had his counsels been heard too, some unpleasant things might have been avoided; but there were a few, who evidently had some secret purpose to serve, who tried to make the convention the means of carrying it out. Prominent among these was

Mr. J. M. Langston, the famous colored lawyer of Ohio, who evidently aspiring to the leadership of his race, and who, we hear, has been promised a high position under the government, if he can control the colored vote of the South, in the interest of the Republican Party. Mr. Langston certainly possesses ability, but very little discretion, at least his course indicated it, for on the first evening of the convention, he took occasion to insult the white delegates from Massachusetts, and warned the delegates to beware of us, intimating very strongly that we were the emissaries of the Democratic Party, which was certainly new to us, who have until this year acted with the Republican Party. So bitter was he in his remarks, so uncalled for was his attack, that such men as Sella Martin of Mass., Downing of Rhode Island, Weare of Penn., and Myers of Maryland, felt called on to rebuke him, and they did so with good effect. The speech of Sella Martin in reply, was one of the most scathing and effective we ever heard, and Mr. Langston's friends tried in vain to prevent his being heard. But Mr. Martin was too old a fighter in the cause to be driven, and said his say to the end, and told his brethren very plainly that they could not afford to repel the proffered sympathy of the white friends of the labor cause. He said forcibly and truthfully that the interests of the laboring classes, white and black on this continent were identical, and they should work harmoniously together for the furtherance of the cause of labor. We are happy to say that the convention finally adopted his views, and in their platform and address there was nothing to which we can seriously object.

Our colleague, Mr. Charles McLean, made on Tuesday evening a very sensible speech, which was well received, and was followed by Senator Wilson, of our

state, who made one of the best labor speeches we ever heard from any of our public men, and we endorse every word of it, so far as it related to the general interests of labor in the country. Gen. Wilson seems deeply impressed with the danger to which the laboring classes are exposed in the wasteful extravagance exhibited in donating the public lands for private ends, and the crystallizing process going on in all the leading industries of the country, and frankly avowed himself opposed to all the schemes now on foot to aggrandize individuals and corporations at the public expense. He gave the convention some very wholesome advice, that we trust will be heeded by all the friends of labor, white or black. . . There were of course some amusing episodes, such as a constant rising to points of order, the piling of one motion upon another, and, as a consequence, the confusion usually attending such a course; but the rare tact shown by their permanent president, the Hon. John B. Harris, of North Carolina, carried them safely through all troubles.

And here we feel impelled to say that in all our experience in tumultuous public assemblies, we have never seen a presiding officer show more executive ability than Mr. Harris, and certainly he does not owe it to white blood, as he is evidently a full-blooded negro, so far as color and features are any evidence of being so. His success was largely owing, we think, to the fact that he possessed the entire confidence of the convention, as well as superior ability for the position.

As will be seen by the newspaper reports they formed a National Labor Union upon a basis similar to that adopted at Philadelphia last August, and may be said to be fairly in the field as an organized body of laborers. Whether their course in forming an independent Na-

tional Union was wise or not, time alone can tell; but we are convinced that for the present at least, they could not do better. It is useless to attempt to cover up the fact that there is still a wide gulf between the two races in this country, and for a time at least they must each in their own way work out a solution of this labor problem. At no very distant day they will become united, and work in harmony together; and we who have never felt the iron as they have, must be slow to condemn them because they do not see as we do on this labor movement. For ourselves, we should have felt better satisfied had they decided to join the great national movement now in progress, but fresh as they are from slavery, looking as they naturally do on the Republican Party as their deliverers from bondage, it is not strange that they hesitate about joining any other movement. Although they did not distinctly recognize any party in their platform, yet the sentiment was clearly Republican if their speeches were any indication. Still, strange as it may seem, parties were ignored in their platform, and this course was taken mainly through the influence and votes of the southern delegates.

Isaac Myers, a member of the present Labor Union was chosen their permanent President for the ensuing year, with a good list of other officers, and in their hands the cause will no doubt be safe. . . When we see a convention composed mainly of those who ten years ago were slaves on the plantations of the South, assembling under the very shadow of the national capital, to deliberate on questions of grave national importance, and conducting them with such marked ability, as to arrest public attention, we feel sure that the day is not far distant, when the good sense of our colored friends will lead them to join us in all honest efforts to make the interests

of labor the paramount interest in our legislation, state and national. Till then, we can afford to wait. S. P. C.

(b) PLATFORM AND MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS

Workingman's Advocate, Jan. 1, 1870, p. 4, col. 3.

The platform agrees with the platform and resolutions of the National Labor Union on coolie labor, but adds greater emphasis on education. It modifies the position on eight hours, coöperation and land. It omits the resolutions on greenbackism, department of labor, restoration of civic rights of southerners, convict labor, preference of working men for political office, tenement house reform, incorporation of unions, taxation of the rich for war purposes, taxation of government bonds, solidarity of men and women workers. It adds the resolutions on strikes, frequent conferences between employers and employees, intemperance, natural resources of the United States, equal rights of white and black laborers to jobs, Freedmen's Bureau, and loyalty to the government.

WHEREAS, labor has its privileges no less than its duties, one of which is to organize, and, if need be, to furnish reasons for its organization: therefore,

RESOLVED, that labor was instituted by Almighty God, as a means of revealing the rich endowments of inanimate creation to be understood and used by man, and that labor is a duty common to and the natural heritage of the human family, each person having a natural right to labor in any field of industry for which he or she is capacitated, the rights to be governed and restricted only by laws of political economy.

RESOLVED, that capital is an agent or means used by labor for its development, and support, and labor is an agent or means used by capital for its development and general enhancement, and that, for the well-being and productiveness of capital and labor, the best harmony of fellowship and action should at all times prevail, that "strikes" may be avoided, and the workman convinced that justice is done him, and that he is receiving an equivalent for the labor performed.

RESOLVED, that there should be a frequent interchange

of opinions upon all questions affecting alike the employer and employed, and that co-operation for the purpose of protection and the better remuneration of labor is a sure and safe method, invading no specific rights, but is alike beneficial to the whole community, and tends to elevate the working classes to higher achievements and positions in society, presents the necessity of, and increases the desire to give their children a more liberal education, induces the practice of economy in the distribution of their earnings, and accelerates the accumulation of wealth, with all the happiness which must necessarily ensue therefrom.

RESOLVED, that intemperance is the natural foe and curse of the American family, especially the working classes, its terrible effects being to disease, corrupt and otherwise disfigure and destroy the constitution, producing vice, crime, and poverty where peace and plenty would otherwise exist.

RESOLVED, that education is one of the strongest safeguards of the Republican Party, the bulwark of American citizens, and a defence against the invasion of the rights of man; its liberal distributions to all, without regard to race, creed or sex, is necessary for the well-being and advancement of society, and that all should enjoy its blessing alike in each of the states and territories of the United States; that educated labor is more productive, is worth and commands higher rates of wages, is less dependent upon capital; therefore it is essentially necessary to the rapid and permanent development of the agricultural, manufacturing, and mechanical growth and interests of the nation that there shall be a liberal free school system enacted by the legislatures of the several states for the benefit of all the inhabitants thereof.

RESOLVED, that the government of the United States,

republican in form, is a government of the people, for the people, and by the people; and that all men are equal in political rights and entitled to the largest political and religious liberty compatible with the good order of society; as, also, the use and enjoyment of the fruits of their labor and talents; and that no laws should be made by any legislative body to the advantage of one class and against the interest and advantage of the other, but that all legislation for the benefit of all the people of any particular state, and of the United States, to the end that loyalty to and love for the institutions and the government of the United States should be a permanent consideration with all the citizens thereof.

RESOLVED, that we return our thanks to Divine Providence for the immense natural resources that are within the geographical limits of the United States of America, whereby the application of diligent and patient labor is capable of producing from our earth all the necessities for human existence and the comfort of man, and, from its vast and unbounded supply has become the greatest moral agent known to man, in that it affords a refuge for the oppressed of all lands, to improve their condition, and, by the influence of our institutions, elevate them to their proper standard of manhood; its rebounding influence is to destroy the tyranny and despotism of the Old World.

RESOLVED, that we feel it to be a duty that we owe to ourselves, to society, and to our country to encourage by all means within our reach, industrial habits among our people, the learning of trades and professions by our children without regard to sex; to educate and impress them with the fact that all labor is honorable and a sure road to wealth; that habits of economy and temperance combined with industry and education, are the

great safe-guard of free republican institutions, the elevator of the condition of man, the motive-power to increase trade and commerce, and to make the whole of this land the wealthiest and happiest on the face of the globe.

RESOLVED, that regarding the labor of the country, the common property of the people, no portion should be excluded therefrom because of the geographical division of the globe in which they or their forefathers were born, or on account of status or color, but that every man or woman should receive employment according to his or her ability to perform the labor required, without any other test; that the exclusion of colored men, and apprentices from the right to labor in any department of industry or workshops, in any of the states and territories of the United States, by what is known as "trade unions," is an insult to God, injury to us, and disgrace to humanity; while we extend a free and welcome hand to the free immigration of labor of all nationalities, we emphatically deem imported, contract, coolie labor to be a positive injury to the working people of the United States – is but the system of slavery in a new form, and we appeal to the Congress of the United States to rigidly enforce the act of 1862, prohibiting coolie importations, and to enact such other laws as will best protect and free American labor against this or any similar form of slavery.

RESOLVED, that we do not regard capital as the natural enemy of labor; that each is dependent on the other for the existence: that the great conflict daily waged between them is for want of a better understanding between the representatives of capital and labor, and we therefore recommend the study of political economy in all of our labor organizations as a means to understand the relationships of labor to capital, and as a basis for the ad-

journment of many of the disputes that arise between employer and employee.

RESOLVED, that we recommend the establishment of coöperative workshops, land, building and loan associations among our people as a remedy against their exclusion from other workshops on account of color, as a means of furnishing employment, as well as a protection against the aggression of capital and as the easiest and shortest method of enabling every man to procure a homestead for his family; and to accomplish this end we would particularly impress the greatest importance of the observance of diligence in business, and the practice of rigid economy in our social and domestic arrangements.

RESOLVED, that we regard the use of intoxicating liquors as the most damaging and damnable habits practiced by the human family; that we denounce the infamous practice planters have of drenching their employees with this poisonous drug (with or without cost), intended to stupify their brain and incapacitate them to know the condition of their accounts, the value of their labor, and to rob them of their sense and feelings of humanity; that we appeal to our people to discountenance the use of intoxicating liquors, because of its effects to shorten life and because it is the great cause of so much misery and poverty among the working classes of the country, and we advise the organization of temperance associations as a necessary instrument for the speedy and permanent elevation of our people.

RESOLVED, that we regard education as one of the greatest blessings that the human family enjoys, and that we earnestly appeal to our fellow citizens to allow no opportunity, no matter how limited and remote, to pass unimproved, that the thanks of the colored people of

this country is due to the Congress of the United States for the establishment and maintenance of the Freedman's Bureau, and to Major General O. O. Howard, commissioner; Rev. J. W. Alvord, and John M. Langston, Esq., general inspectors, for their co-operative labors in the establishment and good government of hundreds of schools in the Southern States, whereby thousands of men, women and children, have been, and are now being taught the rudiments of an English education. The thanks of the whole people are due to these philanthropists and friends to the benevolent institution of this and other countries for the means and efforts in money and teachers furnished, whereby our race is being elevated to the proper standard of intelligent American citizens, and we appeal to the friends of progress and to our citizens of the several states to continue their efforts to the various legislatures until every state can boast of having a free school system, that knows no distinction in dissemination of knowledge to its inhabitants on account of race, color, sex, creed or previous condition; and

RESOLVED, that we recommend a faithful obedience to the laws of the United States and of the several states in which we may reside; that the Congress and the courts of the United States have ample power to protect its citizens. All grievances, whether personal or public should be carried to the proper tribunal, and from the lowest to the highest, until justice is granted; that armed resistance against the laws is treason against the United States, and ought to be summarily punished. We further appeal to the colored workingmen to form organizations throughout every state and territory, that they may be able in those districts far removed from courts of justice to communicate with the Bureau of Labor to

be established by the National Labor Union, and that justice may be meted out to them as though they lived in the large cities, where justice is more liberally distributed; that loyalty and love for the government may be fostered and encouraged, and prosperity and peace may pervade the entire land.

New York *Daily Tribune*, Dec. 11, 1869, p. 3, col. 6.

. . . The chief matter of interest was a memorial prepared by Capt. Mackey of South Carolina, setting forth that the average wages of agricultural laborers in the South was but sixty dollars per annum; that the planters were combined to keep labor down; that this combination was made more bitter from political motives, and its influence was so great that it was impossible, as matters stood, for the colored laborer to exercise civic privileges except at the risk of his livelihood, poor as that was. To remedy this, labor must be made more scarce, and the best way to do that was to make laborers land owners. Congress is to be asked, therefore, to subdivide the public lands in the South into twenty-acre farms, to make one year's residence entitle a settler to a patent, and also to place in the hands of a Commission a sum of money, not exceeding two million dollars, to aid their settlement, and also to purchase lands in states where no public lands are found, the money to be loaned for five years, without interest. Congress will also be asked not to restore to southern railroads the lapsed land grants of 1856, and to require that Texas, prior to readmission to representation, shall put her public lands under the operations of provisions similar to the U. S. Homestead law of 1866. . .

Daily Morning Chronicle (Washington, D.C.), Jan. 14, 1871, p. 4, col. 4.

[At the session of 1871 the foregoing positions were

reaffirmed; a high protective tariff and the Republican Party were endorsed. The president, Isaac Myers, said in his annual address:]

The labor reform party as a means for the elevation of the condition of the workingmen, and to adjust the disputed questions between capital and labor, is a grand farcical claptrap, cunningly worked upon the unwary workingmen by intriguing politicians, and is even more disastrous to their cause than the numerous ill-advised strikes. Its pretensions to a wholesale panacea to elevate the condition of the laboring masses to a financial equality with capital, by getting control of the national and local legislation of the country, is as deceptious and preposterous as the heathen philosophy of producing gold by chemical operation. Whilst labor has a general interest to be protected by national legislation, such as a national education law, land grants to actual settlers, and a tariff for protection to American industries, it also has certain special interest, the chief of which is wages, in all the varied industries of the country, which can not be regulated by any political legislative body that can be brought into existence.

To attempt to make paper the standard of value, and regulate the commercial and moneyed interest of the country thereon, is to revolutionize the political economy of the universe and bankrupt the entire nation.

To attempt to establish a rate of interest for the United States at three per cent, and make the law so effective as that no man can charge or receive more, is as impolitic as it is impracticable.

To attempt by legislation to establish United States banks and United States mills, to keep them supplied with paper to be loaned at three per cent, payable at pleasure, is a fanatical semi-Grecian idea that must nat-

urally clog the wheels of industry and lead the whole people back into a state of barbarism.

This labor party organization naturally forces capital to organize and consolidate, without regard to previous political feeling, for its own protection and safety, which is placed in jeopardy by its success. And for that party to ally with the Democratic Party, as is its habit and claim to be working in the interest of the workingmen of the United States, is a contradiction of principle with practice. The Democratic Party is not specially noted anywhere for its liberality of legislation in the interest of the working classes, except it be to increase the burden of taxation. Besides the general disarrangement, confusion, and disaster that must assuredly follow the success of such a party organization is the general demoralization of the workingmen. . .

Daily Morning Chronicle, Jan. 14, 1871, p. 4, col. 3-4.

. . . Mr. Belcher, of Georgia, offered a resolution condemning both the Democratic Party and its sentiments of repudiation; also, the National Labor Congress, which, in its platform adopted in its meeting held at Cincinnati, Ohio, August 19, 1870, criticises violently, unfairly, illogically, the financial policy of the present administration, and declares, in fact, in favor of the repudiation of our national obligations, and that they utterly condemn the doctrine contained therein as anti-republican and false.

This was the cause of a spirited debate, in which some unkind words were said.

The debate was finally closed by Mr. George T. Downing, who introduced a resolution indorsing the course of Mr. Isaac Myers, president of the colored National Labor Union, in the National Labor Congress, held in Cincinnati, and expressing entire confidence in

his integrity to the principles and policy of the Republican Party. The resolution was adopted by acclamation. . .

. . . Mr. Downing, from the Committee on Capital and Labor, submitted the following: . . . Your committee would simply refer to the unkind, estranging policy of the labor organizations of white men, who, while they make loud proclaims as to the injustice (as they allege) to which they are subjected, justify injustice so far as giving an example to do so may, by excluding from their benches, and their workshops worthy craftsmen and apprentices only because of their color, for no just cause. We say to such, so long as you persist therein we can not fellowship with you in your struggle, and look for failure and mortification on your part; not even the sacred name of Wendell Phillips can save you, however much we revere him and cherish toward him not only profound respect, but confidence and gratitude. . .

7. CINCINNATI CONGRESS, AUGUST 15-22, 1870

(a) DELEGATES

Workingman's Advocate, Aug. 27, 1870, p. 1, col. 2.

Samuel D. Rose, Cincinnati Typographical Union, No. 3; William J. McCarty, Labor Union, No. 5, New York; John P. Flanagan, Iron Moulders' Union, No. 3, Cincinnati; Elisha Stout, Workingmen's Association, Schuylkill County, Penn.; B. H. Campbell, Machinists' Union, Louisville, Ky.; James McGonigal, American Industrial League, Detroit, Mich.; John Brady and John Siney, Miners' and Laborers' Union, Schuylkill County, Pa.; R. Gilchrist, Stonemasons' Union, Louisville; J. W. Browning, Bricklayers' Union, New York; Mrs. E. A. Lane, Daughters of St. Crispin, Lynn, Mass.; John Sperry, Stonemasons' Union, Penn.; F. Blanchard, Knights of St. Crispin, Walnut Hills Lodge, No. 104, Cincinnati; O. P. Julian, Workingmen's Union, Indianapolis; Wm. Haller, Workingmen's Organization, Cincinnati; F. O'Donohue, Workingmen's Association, New York; Wm. T. Hill, Labor Lodge, Jackson County, Ill.; J. T. Whittick, Knights of St. Crispin, Covington, Ky., Hugh Cameron, Labor Union, Kansas; John Collins, H. Temple and Thomas W. Flood, International Typographical Union; Alexander Troup, Labor Union, New York; F. A. Long, Labor Association, Newport, Ky.; J. B. Wolff, Agricultural Labor Association, Virginia; R. F. Trevellick, Ovid, Michigan, representative of the Cigarmakers of Detroit, and Labor Union of Hillsdale County; C. A. Merrill, Riggers' Union,

San Francisco; W. D. Delany, Mechanics' Council, San Francisco; R. W. Latham, New Brunswick; J. Bell, Miners' Association, District No. 1, Brazil, Ind.; H. O. Sheldon, Labor Union, Oberlin, Ohio; S. P. Cummings and C. McLean, State Labor Union Massachusetts; G. O. Walters, Harness Makers, Cincinnati; Toliver Crews, American Miners' Association, Illinois; Ben Tilters, Hocking Valley, Nelsonville, Ohio; A. C. Cameron, Plasterers' Union, Chicago; E. M. Davis, Labor Assembly, Cincinnati; W. E. Owens, District No. 1, Miners' Association, Illinois; John A. Curran, Ironmoulders' Union, No. 20, Covington, Ky.; A. Campbell, Hope Labor Union, LaSalle, Illinois; A. Cannon, Star City Branch Labor Union, No. 1, Lafayette, Indiana; C. H. Lucker, Ironmoulders' Union, Nashville, Tenn.; Alonzo Ramsdell, Ironmoulders' Union, and Labor Union, Chicago; James Smith, Knights of St. Crispin, Cincinnati; R. Hodgkin, Harnessmakers' Union, Detroit; F. W. Higgins, Ecrose and Springwell Farmers' Club, Michigan; Miss M. M. Walbridge, Daughters of St. Crispin, Stoneham, Massachusetts; Charles Whitney, Social and Political Labor Union, Illinois; E. E. Peters, Preëmptors' Union, Washington, D.C.; Allen Coffin, National Guard Industry, Washington, D.C.; R. Griffith, International Lodge, Knights of St. Crispin; A. W. Phelps, Carpenters' and Joiners' Union, New Haven, Connecticut; M. W. Field, Labor Union, No. 2, Detroit; Wm. Saffin, Molders' International Union; F. P. Baker and Amos Sanford, State Labor Union, Kansas; Hugh Cameron, State Labor Union, No. 1, Topeka, Kansas; A. P. Bradford, Machinists' and Blacksmiths', Cincinnati; L. McHugh, Ironmolders' Union, No. 4, Cincinnati; Wm. Cogswell, Ironmolders' Union, Alton, Illinois; W. J. Jessup, Workingmen's Association, State

of New York; Isaac Myers, National Colored Association, Baltimore; Owen Foy and Charles H. Rihl, State of Indiana; Conrad Kuhn, Arbeiter Union, New York City; Isaac C. Weare, United Hodcarriers' and Laborers' Association, Philadelphia; Peter H. Clarke, Colored Teachers' Co-operative Association, Cincinnati; T. S. Nelson and Charles R. Anderson, State Labor Union, Missouri; Mrs. Hathaway, Workingwomen's Co-operation, Chicago; Mrs. Willard, Sewing Girls' Union [Chicago]; John Magwire, Ironmolders' Union, No. 10, St. Louis; David Delay, Labor Union, Hamilton, Ohio; John Walters, Cigar Makers' Union, No. 4, Cincinnati, Ohio; Albert E. Redstone, Industrial League, Vallejo, Cal.; John Harris, Cleveland Labor Union, No. 1; A. M. Puett, Labor Union, Greencastle, Ind., Isaac P. Depew, Workingmen's Assembly, Syracuse, N.Y.; Thos. H. Davis, Miners' and Laborers' Benevolent Association, Tuscarora Valley, O.; Daniel Richey, Labor Union, No. 4, Eden, LaSalle County, Ill.; Colonel Daniel S. Curtiss, Mechanics' State Council, San Francisco; Daniel Thomas, Labor Assembly, Cincinnati; Chas. R. Anderson and Geo. W. Hall, Macon Country Labor Union, Mo.

[At the session on the second day the following occurred:] A motion was made to tender the privileges of the floor to the Hon. S. F. Cary. Carried.[25] Mr. Coffin moved that Professor J. F. Langston, (colored) be also admitted. Mr. Troup moved to table the motion. The chair put the first motion, which was carried unanimously, and General Cary was invited inside the bar by the president. General Cary took a seat inside amid flattering applause.

[25] For Cary's speech in Congress advocating the measures of the National Labor Union, see *Congressional Globe*, 40th congress, third session, part i, pp. 195-200.

A motion to extend to Prof. John F. Langston the privileges of the floor, called forth considerable discussion from various members. Mr. Troup, of New York, addressed the convention at considerable length, and in a feeling manner. He complained that Prof. Langston in the late National Labor Congress endeavored to use the colored laboring men in the interests of the Republican Party. He, the speaker, was opposed to any politician, be he Democrat or Republican, being allowed to enter this convention. He entered his solemn protest against anything in the shape of politics influencing the deliberations of this body. Mr. Cummings said he had no doubt that Langston was here in the interests of the Republican Party. He is an office-holder under Grant's administration and he is here only to work for that party. He did not oppose him on personal grounds—was an original abolitionist himself, but the principle involved is that no one has any right here who is not with the labor movement and its principles without regard to politics. Here this man is sought to be foisted upon this Congress after he had not only done all he could to estrange the colored laborers from the white laborers at the last Congress, but insulted him and other delegates from Massachusetts, because they objected. He hoped Mr. Coffin would withdraw his motion. Mr. Coffin would not withdraw it nor retract a single word. Mr. Langston is objected to because he is a member of the Republican Party, yet here a man is admitted who is prominently and notoriously identified with the Democratic Party with no more claims, nor as many upon the courtesies of this Congress. He did not know whether Mr. Langston was an office-holder or not, but would like to be informed. Mr. McLean confirmed Mr. Cummings' statements, and supported his objec-

tions to admitting Langston, whom he also objected to because he was a foe not to 35,000,000 people, but to 4,000,000. Like Mr. Cummings, he objected to no man on personal grounds, or on account of color; no, not even to John Chinaman (applause); but they must all come here recognizing the great principles of the Labor Congress. After a lengthened discussion participated in by Messrs. Weare (colored), Sheldon, of Missouri [Ohio?], Browning, of New York, Coffin and Myers (colored), the motion to exclude Mr. Langston was carried by a vote of forty-nine to twenty-three.

Mr. Cummings offered a resolution to admit Hon. P. B. Pinchbeck (colored), of Louisiana, to the privileges of the floor, which after deliberation was tabled.

(b) REPORTS OF OFFICERS

[After prayer by Rev. H. O. Sheldon, President Trevellick, in his annual address, spoke of the lack of means to print the proceedings of the preceding congress; stated that the appeal for the Sylvis Monument Fund "met with but little favor;" that he had appointed the following his executive council: Hon. Alex. Campbell, Lasalle, Illinois; Hon. John Magwire, St. Louis, Missouri; Wm. J. McLaughlin, Milford, Massachusetts; Hon. A. M. Puett, Greencastle, Indiana; General A. M. West, Water Valley, Mississippi; that he had appointed the following as executive officers, under Article 4, Section 1: Alex. Troup, for the State of New York; H. O. Sheldon, Missouri; F. C. Tinker, Wisconsin; S. P. Cummings, Massachusetts; Wm. Cogswell, Illinois; Amos Sanford, Kansas; Jas. C. Sylvis, Pennsylvania; Clinton Briggs, Nebraska; Hal. T. Walker, Alabama; O. B. Daily, Ohio; F. S. Miller, Tennessee; Wm. H. Stywald, East Virginia; George Keen, Iowa;

C. W. Peaslee, New Hampshire; C. F. Newell, Maine; R. Gilchrist, Kentucky; Dyer D. Turner, Vermont; that the committee on state prison labor and obnoxious laws had accomplished "much good" as shown by answers received from the governors of several states. He recommended separate state organizations; commented on the large amount of correspondence, and his own absence of one hundred and sixty-nine days, holding meetings in different states, which convinced him of the widespread political unrest, the results in Massachusetts especially being "manifest to all;" spoke of the need of finances for additional lecturers; recommended that the organization declare itself "a distinct political party, denominated as the Labor Reform Party," and calling national and state conventions to nominate candidates; stated that the unemployed during four months of the past year reached "not less than 1,300,000 men," and "hundreds of thousands" in midsummer; repeated the evils of the currency contracted "not to exceed twelve dollars and fifty cents per capita;" maintained that with the Labor Reform Platform "it would have been impossible to have contracted the currency so as to create a panic;" that interconvertible bonds would be needed to enable the government to develop water transportation; that less than one-third of the public domain had passed into the hands of the actual settler; and repeated the arguments against importation but favorable to voluntary immigration of the Chinese. He reported one hundred and twenty-seven charters issued during the year. The Treasurer reported receipts, including, $325 borrowed, $1,875.46; expenditures, $1,548.17; balance on hand, $327.29. Sylvis fund $125.20; paid Mrs. Sylvis $10.00, balance on hand, $115.20. The auditing committee reported total expenses, $4,125.69, receipts, $2,119.50, indebtedness to the president, $1,510.29, to

the treasurer, $2.29; to A. C. Cameron, balance on expenses as delegate to Europe, $503.97.]

(c) THE CONSTITUTION

[After considerable discussion a resolution was adopted, sixty to five, authorizing the president to appoint a committee "whose duty it shall be to call at the earliest practicable moment, a national convention, in order to complete the organization of a National Labor Party." Thereupon the constitution of the National Labor Union was modified so as to constitute a purely industrial body, the following changes being made and the new constitution as a whole adopted, by a vote of twenty-five to twelve.]

PREAMBLE. This organization shall be known as the National Labor Union of the United States, and shall be composed of such labor and trade organizations as may now or shall hereafter exist. [Omitted: "having for their object the amelioration of the condition of those who labor for a living."]

ITS OBJECT. The object of this organization is to examine and discuss in congress assembled all grievances, laws and customs which oppress labor; to educate and elevate the working masses; and submit for their action such measures as will insure justice to all.

CONGRESS. This Union shall be a National Labor Congress, composed of delegates based upon the equal representation of all its members.

THE DUTIES OF OFFICERS. . . The president, at his earliest convenience, shall appoint an executive officer in each state and territory. Each officer so appointed shall, as soon as possible after receiving his appointment proceed to call a state convention for the purpose of forming a state assembly, except in states already organized.

The president of the National Labor Union is hereby authorized to issue a charter to any state or territorial organization whenever the application made is signed by delegates of at least five local labor unions which meet at the call of the executive officer of the state or territory.

Each state organization shall make such laws for its own guidance as may to it seem most effective, provided that such laws do not in any way conflict with the constitution of the National Labor Union.

Twenty-one members in any labor union shall be sufficient to apply for a charter, which shall be granted on the payment of three dollars; but no charter shall be granted to any union in any precinct where a prior organization exists.

This constitution shall not be construed as preventing the various trades from organizing separate state trade organizations, nor shall it be construed to prevent said state or local trade organization from being represented in this Congress.

All questions not herein provided for shall be decided by a majority. It shall require ten members to call the yeas and nays.

It shall be the duty of each labor organization to report to the executive officer of its state such information as may be necessary for the performance of his duty until a state assembly is formed, and then the reports shall be made to him from the state assembly; and such report shall be made at least once a month.

Representation in the Union Labor Congress of each state or territorial trade or labor union shall be entitled to one delegate or fractional part thereof.

Each international trade organization shall be entitled

to ten delegates, or one for every 3,000 or fractional part thereof, when not represented by any state organization.

When there is not a sufficient number of organizations in a state or territory to form a state or territorial organization, such state or territory shall be entitled to one delegate in this Congess, provided they have twenty-five members, and they shall pay a tax of ten dollars, if they have not more than one hundred members, and ten cents for each member over one hundred, and such organization shall form themselves into a state or territorial organization as soon as they shall have a sufficient number to entitle them to the same.

REVENUE. Each state organization shall, at a specified time, report to the president of the National Labor Union the number of members represented in their state organizations, and the president shall bring an annual tax of ten cents on each member so represented.

(d) REFORM, RESOLUTIONS, AND OFFICERS

[There was an extended debate on the formation of an independent political party, favored by Cummings, Gilchrist, Depew, Cameron, Trevellick, Troup, Flanagan, McHugh, Sheldon, Lavine, and Cogswell; opposed by Collins and the colored delegates, Myers and Weare; but finally endorsed, sixty to five. An amendment by Coffin and McLean, of Boston, disclaiming repudiation of the national debt was laid on the table, forty-five to fifteen. The financial planks, after opposition by Peters, Magwire, Coffin, Collins and Sorge, were adopted by "large majorities." The tariff plank, opposed by Troup, Sorge, Ritchie, Flanagan, favored by Sheldon, Redstone, Siney, Kuhn, was adopted, sixty-four to eight. The coolie immigration plank was opposed by McLean

and Coffin, who favored voluntary immigration, as provided in the plank of 1869. The platform adopted as a whole was substantially the same as that of 1869, except the omission of the former planks on women's work, "religion, morality and knowledge," voluntary associations of working men, restoration of civil rights to every American citizen, contract labor in prisons, settlement on public lands, preference for workmen for office, improved dwellings; and the following new planks or changed versions of former planks:]

RESOLVED, that the claim of the bondholders for payment in gold of that class of indebtedness known as 5-20 bonds, the principal of which is legally and equitably payable in lawful money – is dishonest and extortionate, and hence we enter our solemn protest against any departure from the original contract, by funding the debt in long bonds, or in any way increasing the gold bearing and untaxed obligations of the government. . .

RESOLVED, that congress should modify the tariff so as to admit free the necessaries of life, and such articles of common use as we can neither produce nor grow; also to lay duties for revenue, mainly upon articles of luxury, and upon such articles of manufacture as, we, having the raw material in abundance, will develop the resources of the country; increase the number of factories; give employment to more laborers, maintain good compensation, cause the immigration of skilled labor, the lessening of prices to consumers, the creating of a permanent home market for agricultural products, destroy the necessity for the odious and expensive system of internal taxation, and will soon enable us to successfully compete with the manufacturers of Europe in the markets of the world. . .

RESOLVED, that the presence in our country of Chinese

laborers in large numbers is an evil entailing want and its consequent train of misery and crime on all other classes of the American people, and should be prevented, by legislation. . .

RESOLVED, that the public lands of the United States belong to the people, and should not be sold to individuals, nor granted to corporations but should be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of the people, and should be granted, free of cost, to landless settlers only, in amounts not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres of land.

RESOLVED, that the treaty-making power of the government has no authority in the constitution to "dispose of" the public lands without the joint sanction of the Senate and House of Representatives.

[The following was also reported and acted upon:]

Mrs. E. A. Lane, of Boston, Mass., submitted the following: RESOLVED, that we the representatives of the workingwomen, do hereby endorse the action of the National Labor Congress during the past year.

MRS. ERMINE A. LANE,
MISS MARTHA WALBRIDGE,
MISS MCDERMOTT.

RESOLVED, by this National Labor Congress, that we demand for our toiling sisters the same rate of wages for equal work that we receive for ours.

2. We also ask all who are represented (by delegate) in this convention, and also all working-men of our country, to do all in their power to open many of the closed avenues of industry to women, and welcome her entering into just competition with men in the industrial race of life.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted. . .

[By Mr. Sorge] RESOLVED, that the National Labor

Union, assembled in congress, declares its adhesion to the principles of the International Workingmen's Association, and expects at no distant day to affiliate with it.

RESOLVED, that the Bureau of Executive Officers of the National Labor Union be directed to investigate the characters of labor unions in the State of New York, and correct all errors found.

[Adopted.]

[Other resolutions adopted: Warning against militarism; against discrimination "in pay and pensions in favor of the officers and against the soldiers;" favoring reduction of hours of labor; inviting farmers and working men to unite; inviting "common or unskilled labor" to coöperate "in our efforts to improve the conditions of the productive classes;" affirming that "the highest interest of our colored fellow-citizens is with the working men, who, like themselves, are slaves of capital and politicians;" exempting ship-building material from import duty; opposing the action of the governor of Kansas and the president of the United States in stationing troops on the Cherokee neutral lands to protect the Joy claim against the actual settlers; ordering payment of the balance of the Sylvis fund to the children of Sylvis; renewing the resolution to collect labor statistics; keeping record of the votes of congressmen; ordering the proceedings to be printed in English and German; naming the *Workingman's Advocate* of Chicago and the *Arbeiter Union* of New York as official organs of the National Labor Union and the National Reform Party, and the following as state organs: *Anthracite Monitor*, Tamaqua, Pa.; *American Workman*, for Massachusetts; *Workingmen's Journal* of Columbus, for Kansas; *Workingmen's Journal* of San Francisco, for California; *Homestead Champion* for the District of Columbia.

[Resolutions laid on the table, or referred to committee without action: by Kuhn, government ownership of railroads, canals, telegraphs, and all other means of communication; by Coffin, direct election of president of United States; by Delaney of California, fixing a day for all mechanics to establish the eight-hour system.]

Officers elected: *president*, R. F. Trevellick; *first vice-president*, Conrad Kuhn; *second vice-president*, Mrs. E. O. G. Willard; *secretary*, John W. Browning; *treasurer*, A. W. Phelps.

8. ST. LOUIS CONGRESS, 1871

Workingman's Advocate, Aug. 19, 1871, p. 1, col. 2.

DELEGATES—R. F. Trevellick, Labor Union, No. 1, Detroit; James C. Sylvis, State Labor Union, Pa.; T. O. Crews, Labor Union, Murphysboro, Ill.; Geo. H. Weaver, Labor Union, No. 6, Harrisburg, Pa.; E. M. Davis, Labor Union, Cincinnati, Ohio; A. C. Cameron, Labor Union, No. 2, Chicago, Ill.; Jno. Siney, Exboard of Schuylkill Co., Pa.; Mrs. E. O. G. Willard, Workingwomen's Union, Chicago, Ill.; C. Ben Johnson, State General Council Miners' and Laborers' Benefit Association, of Pa.; Victor M. Reitz, St. Louis Labor Union; Theo. W. Herr, Labor Union, No. 13, Lancaster, Pa.; George E. Smith, Labor Union, Water Valley, Miss.; Ben. F. Sylvis, Labor Union, Leavenworth, Kansas; H. H. Day, Financial Reform Association, N.Y. City; Jno. A. McClure, State Labor Union of Pa.; H. O. Sheldon, Reform Association, Oberlin, O.; A. M. Puett, Labor Union, Greencastle, Indiana; Wm. Cogswell, Iron Moulders' Union, Ottawa, Ill.; Ed. Aldrich, Agricultural Union, Oak Ridge, Miss.; W. D. Delaney, Mechanics' State Council and Labor Union, No. 1, San Francisco, Cal.; G. W. Hall, State Labor Union of Missouri; J. P. Manley, State Labor Union, of Ohio.

[President Trevellick reported state organizations formed in Pennsylvania, California, and Connecticut; nineteen local charters issued from the national office, and over one hundred by state organizations; he had traveled over sixteen states; national and state legislation encouraging; state conventions have incorporated "with their platforms at least a portion of our princi-

ples;" the executive committee met in Washington, January 17, 1871, and organized the National Labor Party; recommended more explicit announcement as to whether this was a political or an industrial body; recited violation of eight-hour law; reiterated "the important question of the importation of the Chinese;" exonerated the miners of Pennsylvania; emphasized the importance of more correct knowledge of wages, hours, and unemployment; pointed out that the Supreme Court decisions on the "Greenback" leave "the question of the power to issue money that shall be American money and a legal tender no longer an open question." Finance committee reported moneys received by the president, $551.25; due on president's salary, $1,458.75; due president's clerk, $383.70; "total belonging to this congress, $224.24." The separation of the political from the industrial organization was made definite by calling the convention of the National Labor Party to be held at Columbus, Ohio, in February, 1872; and the National Labor Union at Nashville, Tennessee, in September, 1872 (afterwards changed to Cleveland, Ohio). The platform of the political party was reaffirmed with the following addition:]

That it be the duty of the government to so exercise its power over railroads and telegraph corporations that the actual capital honestly invested therein, shall in no case realize exceeding six per cent upon the amount so invested.

[Resolutions were adopted on National Labor Bureau, land, coöperation, industrial equality for women, and coolie importation. Officers elected were Richard Trevellick, president; Horace H. Day, first vice-president; C. Ben Johnson, secretary; A. C. Cameron, treasurer.]

9. POLITICAL CONVENTION AND INDUSTRIAL CONGRESS, 1872

[The National Labor Reform Party held its convention at Columbus, Ohio, February 21-22, 1872. Among the delegates, the leading ones who had attended preceding congresses were: Troup of Connecticut; Campbell, Cameron, and Hinchcliffe, of Illinois; Cameron of Kansas; Chamberlain and Cummings of Massachusetts; Trevellick and Field of Michigan; Day of New York; Davis, Fehrenbatch, Flanagan, Lucker, and Sheldon, of Ohio; Johnson, Kilgore, Siney, and J. C. Sylvis, of Pennsylvania; and Puett of Indiana. Other states represented were Arkansas, Iowa, Mississippi, Missouri, New Jersey. Charges were made of efforts to control the convention in order to influence the nominations of the Republican and Democratic Parties, and that the full delegation from Pennsylvania was able to attend "through the courtesy of Thomas Scott," of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. It was voted that the delegation from each state should cast the full electoral vote of each state, on the ground that Ohio and Pennsylvania had full delegations, while others had not the facilities or means of travel. John Siney was elected temporary chairman, and Edwin M. Chamberlain, of Massachusetts, permanent chairman. The platform of preceding years was adopted. Resolutions were offered by Elliott of New York, favoring government ownership and the referendum, but voted down. On the first formal ballot for nomination for president of the United States, the votes were: Judge David Davis, of Illinois, 88; Wen-

dell Phillips, 52; Governor John W. Geary, of Pennsylvania, 45; Horace H. Day, of New York, 8; Governor Joel Parker, of New Jersey, 7; George W. Julian, 7. On the third ballot Davis was nominated. The nominee for vice-president was Governor Parker. Judge Davis gave a qualified acceptance, but after the Democratic convention he declined, explaining his action as follows: "Having regarded that movement as the initiation of a policy and purpose to unite the various political elements in a compact opposition, I consented to the use of my name before the Cincinnati [Democratic] Convention, where a distinguished citizen of New York [Horace Greeley] was nominated." A meeting of the executive committee at Columbus in August decided that it was too late to renominate candidates.– *Workingman's Advocate*, March 2, June 22, August 24, 1872.

[The "Industrial" Congress met at Cleveland, September 16, with only seven persons present, including Trevellick and Cameron. The following was adopted:]

Workingman's Advocate, Sept. 21, 1872, p. 2, col. 5.

RESOLVED, that a committee of three be appointed, (of which Mr. A. M. Foran, of the Cooper's International Union, shall be one) to open a correspondence with the presidents of the various state, national and international trade and labor unions, requesting them to meet in conference with the officers of the National Labor Union, at such time and place as may hereafter be designated, to take into consideration the expediency of calling a national industrial congress, whose primary object shall be to discuss questions of a non-political character, of which we would suggest the following:

1st. How to secure the adoption and enforcement of the eight hour system.

2d. Co-operation – What it means and how to secure its successful application to manufacturing enterprises.

3d. Coolie Labor – The duty of the American workingmen in the crisis.

4th. Is it practicable to organize a National Board of Arbitration?

5th. Homes – And the best means to secure them.

III

IRA STEWARD AND THE HOURS OF LABOR

INTRODUCTION

The eight-hour movement probably began in 1842, when the carpenters and caulkers in the Charlestown navy yard secured eight hours on old work. The organized caulkers adopted the shorter day by vote in May, 1854. Various labor organizations followed this example, but it was not until after 1863 that the interest in the movement appeared in the organization of societies having for their sole object the establishment of the shorter day for all classes of labor. These originated in the vicinity of Boston, but spread rapidly to the middle west, and even to New Orleans and San Francisco. The list of these societies includes the Workingmen's Convention, Boston Labor Reform Association (the only one to be incorporated), the Grand Eight Hour League, Boston Eight Hour League, New England Reform Association, and many local and state leagues.

The cause was supported by those who feared that the return of the soldiers to the industrial world at the close of the war boded ill for wage-earners unless something were done to prevent the reduction of wages which would naturally follow. They, therefore, urged upon the country the necessity of establishing the eight-hour day. But to Ira Steward belongs the credit of placing the argument upon a more enduring basis, the standard of living. Two tasks lay before him: to convince workingmen that wages would not suffer with the reduction of hours; and to show employers that the higher standard of living would create an increased demand for all com-

modities, and hence would not injure the employer's interests.

In July, 1862, Congress had enacted a law providing that the hours and wages of employees in government navy yards should conform as closely as possible to those of similar private establishments.–37th congress, second session, chap. 1, section 8. This, the Court of Claims declared, was intended to prevent disturbance of the prevailing rate of wages in the vicinity; but since the eight-hour day prevailed among ship-carpenters and caulkers, it virtually established the same for the government navy yards. During the period from 1865 to 1867, there were introduced into Congress numerous bills and resolutions providing for the eight-hour day on all government work; but not until June, 1868, did such a bill become law.–40th congress, second session, chap. 72. In 1867 Illinois, Missouri, New York, and Wisconsin passed eight-hour laws–that of Wisconsin applying to women only–but in no case was the law enforced. Bills were presented to the legislatures of several other states in that year, but were not adopted. City councils early took up the matter, and in September, 1865, Boston adopted the eight-hour day for employees in the city offices. Baltimore first adopted eight hours for all city employees, except on work done by contractors; and by the end of the same year, 1866, Aurora (Illinois), Evansville (Indiana), Detroit, New York, and Chicago had passed similar ordinances.

1. THE FIRST EFFORT, 1863

Leaflet; also *Fincher's Trades' Review*, Dec. 2, 1863. Ira Steward was a member of the Machinists' and Blacksmiths' Union, and the following resolutions were adopted by that organization at his instance.

TO THE BOSTON TRADES' ASSEMBLY: At the last regular annual session of the International Union of Machinists and Blacksmiths of North America, holden in Boston, the following preamble and resolves were passed by a unanimous vote, to wit:

We, the members of the I.U. of Machinists and Blacksmiths of N.A., conscious that our attempts to adjust the false relations still existing between labor and capital have failed thus far in consequence of a want of means adequate to the accomplishment of our ends; therefore

RESOLVED, that from east to west, from north to south, the most important change to us as working men, to which all else is subordinate, is a permanent reduction to *eight* of the hours exacted for each day's work.

RESOLVED, that since this cannot be accomplished until a public sentiment has been educated, both among employers and employees, we will use all the machinery of agitation, whether it be among those of the religious, political, reformatory or moneyed enterprises of the day; and to secure such reduction we pledge our money and our courage.

RESOLVED, that such reduction will never be made until over-work, as a system, is prohibited, nor until it is universally recognized that an increase of hours is a reduction of wages, even if the over hours are paid for by extra compensation, unless in those very rare cases where an uncommon and an unexpected press of work renders

any other arrangement impossible; and we do not rank among such exceptions the case of capitalists anxious to avoid further investment of capital, and hence seeking through extra hours to benefit themselves by throwing undue burdens on the laborer.

RESOLVED, that a Reduction of Hours is an Increase of Wages.

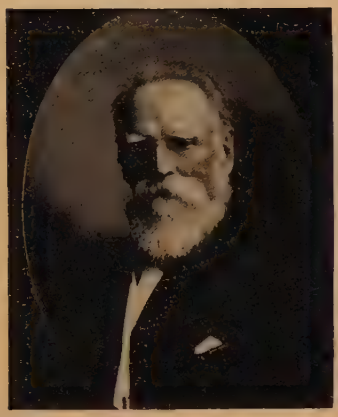
RESOLVED, that it is the duty of this association to select some person competent to urge these views on public attention through the press, and lecture-room, and to secure him fair remuneration.

In accordance with this vote the undersigned were appointed a special committee, with full power and discretion to select some person to whom a systematic agitation of our cause should be confided, and to draw from the treasury of the Machinists' and Blacksmiths' Unions the sum of four hundred dollars, as soon as an assessment can be made and collected, and to commence the enterprise on or before January 1, 1864.

The selection of a Committee of three Boston delegates, members of the Trades' Assembly, and, in accordance with remarks made in convention and entertained by general consent, suggests a union between the Boston Trades' Assembly and the International Union of Machinists and Blacksmiths in this movement; and it is for the express purpose of proposing a union between the two organizations, on equal terms, in this plan for a systematic agitation of measures necessary for labor to adopt, that we present this communication and ask for it your serious and thorough consideration.

IRA STEWARD, JAMES C. BAKER, CHESTER R. MERRILL.
Boston, Nov. 17, 1863.

The Trades' Assembly of Boston in response to the International Union of Machinists and Blacksmiths of North America—



THOMAS PHILLIPS

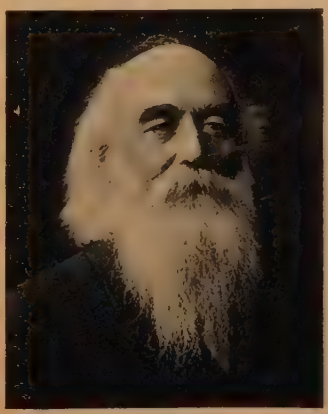
Shoemaker. Leading coöperationist since 1862

IRA STEWARD

Machinist. Philosopher of Eight-hour movement

JOHN SAMUEL

Glass bottle blower. Enthusiastic coöperationist. Participant in labor movement since 1834 *(From a photograph taken in 1907 in his ninety-first year)*



GEORGE E. MCNEILL

Shoemaker. President, Boston Eight-hour League, and first Deputy of Massachusetts Bureau of Labor, 1869–1873. Apostle of Eight-hour movement

RESOLVED 1st, that a reduction of the number of hours for a day's work, be the cardinal point to which our movement ought to be directed; that we make this point with the understanding that it is not antagonistic with capital, while at the same time it invests our cause with the dignity and power of a great moral and social reform, and that it is every way worthy of the sympathy and co-operation of the most progressive and liberal thinkers of the age, and that the time has fully arrived in which to commence a thorough and systematic agitation of this, the leading point in the great problem of labor reform.

RESOLVED 2d, that we recommend to the unions of Boston and vicinity the scheme proposed by the machinists and blacksmiths of the International Union, of uniting in the enterprise of paying some one to devote his whole time to our cause, and that the sum of four hundred dollars be for this purpose assessed and collected and entrusted to a committee of three to be appointed by the Trades' Assembly to act in concert with the committee from the International Union of Machinists and Blacksmiths.

2. "A REDUCTION OF HOURS AN INCREASE OF WAGES"

Pamphlet by Ira Steward, published by the Boston Labor Reform Association, 1865; also appears in *Fincher's Trades' Review*, Oct. 14, 1865.

"Well," says a workingman, "I should certainly be very glad to work less hours, but I can scarcely earn enough by working ten to make myself and family comfortable."

Sir, as strange as it may seem to you at first blush, it is a fact that your wages will never be permanently increased until the hours of labor are reduced. Have you never observed that those who work the hardest and longest are paid the least, especially if the employment is very disagreeable, while those whose employment is more agreeable usually receive more, and many who do nothing receive more than either?

You are receiving your scanty pay precisely because you work so many hours in a day, and my point now is to show why this is true, and why reducing the hours for the masses will eventually increase their wages.

It is but little more than three hundred years since everybody believed that the sun revolved around the earth. But Copernicus finally exploded this mistake and proved that the earth goes around the sun; and many have been the cases in which men have been forced to admit that the truth was exactly the reverse of all their past opinions or experiences.

For the safety of society English law made two hundred crimes punishable with death. Thoughtful men said, "We shall be safer if we reduce these to fifty." Parliament tried the experiment, and its wonderful suc-

cess suggests a still greater reduction, and to-day Lord John Russell says, "Abolish the death penalty altogether."

Men once believed that the use of railroads would leave little work for horses to do. When Sir Rowland Hill first made the statement that reducing the postage on letters would increase the revenue, it met with the same incredulous reception we shall meet in the proposition that as the hours are reduced wages will increase until every producer shall receive the full value of his services.

The truth is, as a rule, that men who labor excessively are robbed of all ambition to ask for anything more than will satisfy their bodily necessities, while those who labor moderately have time to cultivate tastes and create wants in addition to mere physical comforts. How can men be stimulated to demand higher wages when they have little or no time or strength to use the advantages which higher wages can buy, or procure?

Take an extreme case for illustration of this – that of an average operative or mechanic employed by a corporation fourteen hours a day. His labor commences at half-past four in the morning, and does not cease until half-past seven, p.m. How many newspapers or books can he read? What time has he to visit or receive visits? to take baths? to write letters? to cultivate flowers? to walk with his family? Will he not be quite as likely to vote in opposition to his real interests as in favor? What is his opinion good for? Will any one ask his advice? Which will he most enjoy, works of art, or rum? Will he go to meeting on Sunday? Does society care whether he is happy or miserable? sick or well? dead or alive? How often are his eyes tempted by the works of art? His home means to him his food and his bed. His life

is work, with the apparition, however, of some time being without, for his work means bread! "Only that and nothing more." He is debased by excessive toil! He is almost without hope!

Think how monotonous that path leading from house to factory, and from factory to house again—the same sidewalk every day, rain or shine, summer or winter—leading by the same low houses—inhabited by beings walking the same social treadmill as himself. Half-past seven comes at last, and as the wheel stops he catches his coat, and half staggering with fatigue, hurries homeward in the darkness, thinking of nothing but food and rest. What are his motives?

From the fourteen hour system let us turn to that of eight hours for a day's work, and see if the real secret of low and high wages does not lie in the vast difference which the two systems make in the daily habits and ways of living of the masses. In the eight hour system labor commences at seven o'clock a.m., and, as an hour and a half is allowed for dinner, the labor of the day ends at half past four in the afternoon, instead of half-past seven in the evening. Think carefully of the difference between the operative and mechanic leaving his work at half-past seven (after dark, the most of the year), and that of the more leisurely walk home at half-past four p.m., or three hours earlier. Remember also that there is a vast difference in the strength and feelings of those who commence labor at half-past four in the morning, and those who commence two hours and a half later, or at seven o'clock. It is the hard practical necessary differences between the two systems which control the daily habits and thoughts of all who are living under them.

You can hardly dwell too long upon this point, for upon it turns this whole question of social science—pov-

erty and wealth – vice and virtue – ignorance and knowledge. The follies, burdens, and crimes of our later civilization are hanging upon this question, and the temptation to leave the simple, and comparatively unimportant fact that reducing the hours will increase the wages, and launch out upon broader and more sublime results, is almost irresistible. The simple increase of wages is the first step on that long road which ends at last in a more equal distribution of the fruits of toil. For wages will continue to increase until the capitalist and laborer are one. But we must confine ourselves to the first simple fact that a reduction of hours is an increase of wages; and when we are perfectly satisfied of its soundness we can build upon it until the consequences grow to the extent of our comprehension or imagination.

Think then of the difference which will soon be observed in a man or woman emancipated by the eight hour system from excessive toil! Not the first day nor the first week, perhaps, but in a very little while. The first feeling may be one merely of simple relief; and the time for a while may be spent, as are many of the Sabbaths, by the overworked, in sleeping and eating, and frequently in the most debasing amusements. The use which a man makes of his leisure, depends largely upon the use which has been made of him. If he has been abused, he will be pretty sure to abuse his first opportunities. An hour, in the hands of John Quincy Adams, meant a golden opportunity – in the hands of a Newcastle collier it means debauchery – and in the hands of a New England operative, an hour extra will mean the difference balanced, or divided between the two.

Many make the mistake of supposing that leisure will be abused by workingmen, as if leisure of itself were necessarily corrupting. Leisure, however, is neither

positively good, or bad. Leisure, or time is a blank – a negative – a piece of white paper upon which we stamp, picture, or write, our past characters. If we have been soured and disappointed by a life of poverty and drudgery, if opportunities have been few and far between, if education has been neglected, and habits of thought and observation have not been cultivated – if we have inherited qualities which are ever leading us into temptation, we shall be sure to stamp this humiliating record upon the first leisure hour in the eight hour system. The most of men will make a clumsy use of any thing which they have not become familiar with. Progress in the arts and sciences is marked by a line of accidents, burnings, explosions, losses, and deaths, to which we may liken the abuse of the laborer's first opportunities. But the remedy is not in depriving him of his chance to experiment.

The charge that men will abuse the privilege of more leisure, is the objection continually urged against liberty, and the answer to the latter will probably be a sufficient reply to the former. Macaulay says:

> There is only one cure for the evils which newly acquired freedom produces – and that cure is Freedom! When a prisoner leaves his cell, he cannot bear the light of day – he is unable to discriminate colors or recognize faces. But the remedy is not to remand him to his dungeon, but to accustom him to the rays of the sun. The blaze of truth and liberty may at first dazzle and bewilder nations which have become half-blind in the house of bondage. But let them gaze on, and they will soon be able to bear it. In a few years men learn to reason. The extreme violence of opinion subsides. Hostile theories correct each other. The scattered elements of truth cease to conflict, and begin to coalesce. And at length a system of justice and order is educed out of chaos. Many politicians of our time are in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition, that no people ought to be free till they are fit for freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story, who resolved not to go into the water till he had learned to swim. If

men are to wait for liberty till they become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait forever.

The fact is that when men are abused by a system they will criticise the system; and when they abuse an opportunity, they will soon learn to criticise themselves! John Stuart Mill says:

The secret for developing man, is to give him many duties to perform and many inducements to perform them.

Mankind will be virtuous and happy when they have full power to choose between good and evil, with plenty of motives for deciding right. Men will not abuse power when they are made responsible for its abuse. While therefore giving the masses more time will give them increased power to do wrong, the motives to do right will increase very much faster.

Assuming that the leisure we propose is not so positively debasing, let us return to the main question. My theory is, 1st. That more leisure, will create motives and temptations for the common people to ask for more wages.

2d. That where all ask for more wages, there will be no motive for refusing, since employers will all fare alike.

3d. That where all demand more wages, the demand cannot be resisted.

4th. That resistance would amount to the folly of a "strike" by employers themselves, against the strongest power in the world, viz., the habits, customs, and opinions, of the masses.

5th. That the change in the habits and opinions of the people through more leisure will be too gradual to disturb or jar the commerce and enterprise of capital.

6th. That the increase in wages will fall upon the wastes of society, in its crimes, idleness, fashions, and

monopolies, as well as the more legitimate and honorable profits of capital, in the production and distribution of wealth, and

7th. In the mechanical fact, that the cost of making an article depends almost entirely upon the number manufactured is a practical increase of wages, by tempting the workers through their new leisure to unite in buying luxuries now confined to the wealthy, and which are costly because bought only by the wealthy.

The first point in this theory is the vital one "that more leisure will create motives and temptations for the most ordinary laborer to insist upon higher wages." A few, comparatively, insist upon more pay now, but they are in competition with the great body of laborers who do not, and who never will, until, in the language of John Stuart Mill, "a change has been wrought in their ideas and requirements."

There is a law or two in this case which proves, on examination, to be a blessing in disguise. The law is first, that if one employer pays for the same quality and quantity of labor enough more than another that his business will be ruined, and his workmen finally thrown out of employment; and second, that if a workman of superior tendencies to the majority of his fellows, is not paid more than they for performing the same kind of labor his general influence and his opportunities for usefulness will be cramped and limited accordingly. The blessing in disguise is this – the necessity created by these two laws, of elevating all who labor! Every laborer in rags, is a walking admonition to those who are not: for he says, unconsciously of course, "I must continue to labor for what my rags cost, until I am placed in a position where I am ashamed to wear them; and as long as I am paid only enough to buy rags, you cannot

be paid much more; so please help me up!" Every laborer who saves rent by living in crowded tenement houses, narrow alleys and unhealthy localities, can underbid the few who will not live in them. Parents who do not educate their children, but send them into factories and shops, can underbid those who do. Men who do not marry can underbid those who do. The charm of the eight hour system is, that it gives time and opportunity for the ragged – the unwashed – the ignorant and ill-mannered, to become ashamed of themselves and their standing in society.

One of the first steps in reformation is, to make a man feel as keenly as possible, the meanness of his position or of his behaviour. The masses must be made discontented with their situation, by furnishing them with the leisure necessary to go about and observe the dress, manners, surroundings, and influence of those whose wealth furnishes them with leisure. Wealthy people have no interest in contrasting their situation with the poor, for this reason; that it is the extreme poverty of the masses, which makes the ease and leisure of the wealthy possible. When every one has a fortune to let, no one will hire. Imagine such a state of things for a moment; every man going up and down the street, crying at the top of his voice, "I have money to loan at six per cent interest, who wants to hire?" and the only answer they will receive will be, "I too have money to let; I don't want to hire, for men who pay interest on money have to work or get others to work for them, and every man I meet works for himself, and if no one hires my money I shall have to work for myself." Of course the wealthy, as a class, are not going about, giving to every poor man a hint of "the good time coming," when their capital will mean the tools merely, with which they will earn their own living!

This is a matter for clear headed workingmen to discuss, and the eight hour reduction will give them the time necessary, and other questions follow: but meantime this leisure is still more necessary, to supply some motive for exertion for the most thoughtless and heedless of laborers—motives which they can appreciate and will struggle for, until educated up to an interest in matters of real importance. Till this is done, they will be found, every election day, in company with master capitalists, voting down schemes for their own emancipation! Capital, with swift enterprise, can pay for heralding to the ears of ignorance favorite catch-words, while its control of the daily press and party machinery leaves the intelligent workingman, of slender means, in a mortifying minority. Think of it, you mechanics, who affect a social distinction between the uncultivated laborer and yourself; on election day the capitalist and the common laborer unite and vote you down, and the rest of the year you and the shrewder capitalist unite and keep down and away from you the "common and unclean" laborer. Hasten the day when we shall hear no more of any honorable industry being "common or unclean," for

We march to fate abreast.

The eight hour system will make a coalition between ignorant labor and selfish capital on election day, impossible.

When an intelligent workingman applies for employment, he don't want to meet a fellow laborer offering to do about the same thing for fifty or seventy-five cents less per day; yet he will be there "every time" until allowed the leisure necessary to be reached through his low pride or envy, if nothing higher, by wife, children, neighbors, and society generally. Give the masses time to come together and they cannot be kept apart; for man

is a social being; and when they come together expenses multiply, because the inferior will struggle to imitate the superior in many things which cost. To see is to desire, from babyhood to old age; to desire is to struggle, and to struggle is to succeed, sooner or later.

Imagine operatives or laborers of average capacity leaving work at half-past four; they are liable to meet those whose good opinion is worth everything to them, and they think that a neat personal appearance is positively necessary; and it must be confessed that, while fine clothes do not make a man, we all look at them as a certain sort of index to his character.

Men who are governed only by their pride, are low indeed; but those who have no pride at all, are very much lower. We must take human nature as we find it; hoping and believing that the era of personal display will be succeeded by one of mental and moral accomplishment. A valuable point has been gained in pushing the man into a position where he is made to feel the imperative necessity of dress, and for this he will struggle. An operative running from the shop in the evening tired, hungry, and unwashed, has not time to be ashamed of his personal appearance; and our modern laborer passing through the streets at six, has not time and strength enough: but the improvement which has been made in the personal appearance of ten hour laborers, over those of the twelve and fourteen hour system, is suggestive of what two hours more of leisure may soon accomplish.

A man who is satisfied with his personal appearance, will be likely to go abroad and take his wife and children, and they must have "something to wear." If he visits, he must receive visits, and what will visitors say if his house and its surroundings do not look as respectable as other folks'?

Many things can be done for self, family, and domicil which cost nothing but time and labor; but when done, are sure to suggest one or two things more, costing money. There is time after eight hours' labor to attend an evening concert, which adds a little to the expense, but much to the enjoyment of the family. The Smiths and Jones "and everybody" are going, "and who wants to be so different from everybody else." If these are trivial considerations to intelligent minds, they are the only ones which can be brought to bear upon the masses to tempt them to bid for higher wages. The great majority of men and women must "act like other folks." "What will people think?" or "What will people say?" is the most terrible question which they can be asked.

There are not many in society who have the courage to stand up alone and be very much different from their neighbors or acquaintances. In a good cause a few brave men and women will live and die all alone;

> Forlorn, forlorn, bearing the scorn
> Of the meanest of mankind.

They are sustained – God bless them – by something the masses know not of. Even these few braves, however, betray this principle, or quality, in human nature, and generally honor, with extra precision, all customs, forms, and niceties, of their day and generation, not positively opposed to their special ideas: they "render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's."

Some children drop their playthings sooner than others, and the amusements of later years last certain minds longer than others; but so thoroughly aroused am I to the necessity of something for every human being to enjoy, that I cry out reverently "God bless every baby pleased with a rattle." Tempt every producer of wealth

then, by theatres, concerts, fine clothes, stories; and the leisure to enjoy, and the higher wages necessary to support them, will, by wiser fellows, be used to study political economy, social science, the sanitary condition of the people, the prevention of crime, woman's wages, war, and the ten thousand schemes with which our age teems for the amelioration of the condition of man. In other words, intelligent workers, if you want ten dollars to invest in some scientific, reformatory, religious or literary scheme, you must see to it that every one who performs your kind of labor, wants something, which will cost as much! And those who are tempted to leave their own occupation because they are underpaid, and to learn yours, must have the temptation removed by a rise in their wages.

An extra hod-carrier may become a poor mason, and his wages, higher than those paid to hod-carriers, may still be the means of bringing down the price of skillful masons. An extra striker may raise his wages by attempting the trade of blacksmithing; and yet be the means of bringing down the price of those who have never done anything else but forge. It pays employers to teach the trade or the business to the uninitiated, as soon as the wages of the skillful run up to a certain point. It may be urged that a hod-carrier or a striker is not worth as much as a mason or a blacksmith, but who shall decide how much this labor is really worth? Building houses and forging iron would come to an end if there were no hod-carriers, or strikers, and what more can be said for the trade of the mason or blacksmith? You say there are a plenty who are glad to carry the hod or wait upon the blacksmith. There is a plenty of water, gravel, iron; but none the less valuable are they?

Without attempting to settle, definitely, how much

common labor is worth – for it is a broad question – I will make the claim that no man's compensation should be so low, that it will not secure for himself and family a comfortable home – education for his children, and all of the influence to which he is entitled by his capacity, virtue, and industry. As the present system of labor does not pay a majority of workers enough, we may conclude that something is wrong: and whatever our speculations upon the system, it must be clear that the masses will not insist upon more pay, without additional motives and temptations; and that all who do the work of the masses must receive their pay. When William H. Seward serves a blacksmith he must not expect to be paid more than strikers generally receive; and the question for him to ask, if he complains, is, "why is it that so many can be found willing to labor for such low wages?" Mr. Seward can only raise his wages as a striker, by throwing all who do this kind of labor into a position where they will feel the necessity of more pay. Change and improve the daily habits of the laborers and they will raise their own pay in spite of any power in the universe; and this can only be done by furnishing them with more leisure, or time! We must remember that by an inexorable law of self-interest, we are bound to lift up the lowest and most degraded laborer.

Weaker is your soaring
When they cease to fly.

We never shall occupy comfortable and healthy dwellings until they are well out of their hovels, tenement-houses and cellars, and they will never come out of them until leisure has opened their eyes to their own shame and filth.

With three hundred and sixty-five days of opportunities created by the eight hour system we can say to

the laborer, "Your industry helps to support that monopoly or abuse, and the man you voted for at the last election helped to make that abuse possible." He has time to listen, digest and plan.

If our eight hour friends in Boston, New-York and Philadelphia would make this the issue at their next city elections – that no laborer employed by those cities shall work longer than eight hours per day, and that they shall have the usual wages, they would discover its immense importance by observing the tenacity with which the moneyed interests would oppose the movement. The establishment of the eight hour system in those three cities would be an eight hour "Sermon on the Mount."

Twelve hundred common laboring men, agitating the eight hour question, and carrying it into cellars or by-places never reached by any sound but a trumpet blast from capital on election day! This terrible reservoir of cheap labor must be run off, and the motives which prompt us to its accomplishment are not unlike those which we shall present to a certain class above us socially – to those whose wealth is invested in untaxed government bonds. We shall say to them: "Gentlemen, the repudiation of the national debt is threatened by the unprincipled and the ignorant. Emancipate the great industrial classes of America from excessive toil, and you create a bulwark of popular intelligence against which the threats of repudiation will dash in vain forever. The overworked and under-paid are dangerous enough in any country, but especially so in America, where they have votes. A word to the wise is sufficient."

Louis Napoleon will never trust his system of oppression under the searching, steady gaze of workers emancipated from excessive toil. The despotisms of Europe would crumble faster than ever under such a scrutiny.

Alas! the advantages within the grasp of American workers if they only knew of them, and of each others' co-operation.

In the eight hour system a dollar will be worth more than a dollar in the long hour system – not immediately, of course – but in a comparatively short time. The reason of this lies in the fact which every good mechanic understands, that the cost of making an article depends almost entirely on the number manufactured. It pays to build elaborate machinery, to manufacture something which every one will buy; while those who make the manufacture a study will improve upon their machinery and reduce the cost continually, especially if in competition with others equally anxious to produce something which everybody wants. One of the reasons why a calendar clock, for instance, or an oval picture frame, or a law book, costs so much is because so few buy. While a common clock, excursion tickets, water-pails and Bibles are wanted by everybody, and are cheapened accordingly; and when everybody can be made to feel that they must have certain luxuries now confined to the wealthy, they will be cheapened accordingly. How much do you imagine a single copy of the *Atlantic Monthly* or of *Our Young Folks* would cost if bought by ten times their present number of subscribers? One could spend hours in describing the saving which this patronage would make in the manufacture of those publications alone. Meantime you who will buy the *Atlantic* or *Our Young Folks*, are paying the present prices because there are so many who will not buy at all. Your loss is doubled; they keep your wages down because they do without these publications, and keep the prices of these publications up, because they do without them.

Here then is an increase of wages, practically, at the

expense of no one; and the general fact that much of the increase is to fall upon the wastes of society, caused by its idleness, crimes, fashions, and accidents at last, and that the increase will be very gradual, ought to disarm all opposition.

Meantime the temptation to fraud and idleness will be measurably lessened by the removal, through the reduction of hours and the increase of wages, of the burdens upon labor. I put the question to any man who thinks: "Is labor honored and respected? Is Henry Wilson respected because he did make shoes, or because he does not? Are Abraham Lincoln, Andrew Johnson, and N. P. Banks honored because they once toiled with their hands, or because they were fortunate enough to lift themselves into a position where it was no longer necessary? Is labor in the shop, or on the farm, ten and twelve hours a day, the place for a man anxious to exert an influence upon the questions of the hour? When labor is honored, idleness will be dishonored. The courts of justice and state prisons of our land are less feared and dreaded as possible contingencies, than are its farms and workshops, by the more intelligent class. Can we wonder then, that crimes in legislation are increasing – that ten thousand applications are on file in the treasury department, at Washington, for clerkships – that there are six applications for every situation in the Boston custom house – that every fourth year there is a grand national scramble for the post offices of the United States?

This system, however, falls the most crushingly upon woman by lowering her wages to the starvation point, and sending her onto the streets of all our large cities and towns for bread! The horrors of the middle passage, which an advancing civilization has consigned to eter-

nal infamy, are here repeated and magnified on a large scale in the present labor system. Women elbowing women – aggravating each others difficulties, and creating a system of abominations which cannot be described. Small compensation, however, explains all this.

Because, fathers are paid low wages they send their children – who ought to be at school – into factories and shops, to do cheaply, what women ought to be fairly paid for doing. Because, husbands are underpaid, they consent that their wives may crowd the labor market, in competition with maidens who have no husbands to make up for their low wages. And because single men are not paid enough for their daily labor, they do not marry; and thus the maidens who ought to be married, and the wives who ought to be out of the labor market and attending to themselves and families, and the children who ought to be at school, are bringing down woman's wages until her cry of want and despair is splitting the ears of the nation! It is fashionable to sympathize with the "poor sewing girl," but when will men dare to go to the root of the difficulty?

Presenting the foregoing as a mere fragment of the argument, proving that a reduction of hours is an increase of wages, I submit, in conclusion, that the "increase" does not mean an increase of the price of the article produced, as do the "strikes" for higher wages, when successful. In a reduction of hours the producer and the consumer will come together more frequently and stay longer, and the knowledge they will exchange will commence melting and dividing between them the profits of capital. The capitalist, as we now understand him, is to pass away with the kings and royalties of the past. In America, every man is king in theory, and will be in practice eventually, and in the good time

coming every man will be a capitalist. The capitalist of to-day, however, is as necessary as was the king once, to preserve order. Nothing but a higher standard of popular intelligence can supersede the necessity of the one man power. The eight hour system will put the man who made the shoes, and the man who bought them, together; and they will compare the prices paid for the labor, and the sale of the shoes; and observing the great difference, will begin to think! This thought and its consequences melts back into the hands which produced it, the wealth of the world. It means anti-pauperism, anti-aristocracy, anti-monopoly, anti-slavery, anti-prostitution, anti-crime, want, waste, and idleness; and the vast moral and material consequences flowing from such a conference justify the legislation necessary to secure the time.

3. PLAN OF ACTION

Resolutions offered by Ira Steward and adopted at a mass meeting at Faneuil Hall, Nov. 2, 1865, following an address by Wendell Phillips. For Phillips's address see his *Speeches, Lectures, and Letters,* second series (Boston, 1891), 139-144; and *Daily Evening Voice,* Nov. 3, 1865.

RESOLVED, that the next great step for American statesmanship is the adoption of measures which shall make it impossible for capital or corporations to deprive the laborer, against his will, of the time and opportunity necessary to study the institutions of his country, or the great questions of the age; and that the "right of the people to keep and bear arms," which our fathers solemnly recognized eighty years ago as one security against the possible usurpations of government, now finds its parallel in our later necessity of additional security against the corruptions and usurpations of capital, through its control of the literature, politics, and daily press of the country.

RESOLVED, that the practical measure for American statesmanship to adopt is the national, state and municipal legislation and action necessary to secure a reduction of the hours of labor to eight per day.

RESOLVED, that the legislation necessary to secure this is:

1st. A law making eight hours a legal day's labor in the absence of a written agreement, said agreement not to hold good longer than the first day of the January following.

2d. A law prohibiting any company incorporated by the laws of this state from employing laborers or operatives more than eight hours a day.

3d. A law forbidding the employment of minors, under eighteen years of age, more than eight hours a day.

4th. A law forbidding the employment of minors under eighteen years of age after eight o'clock in the evening, or before four o'clock in the morning.

5th. The appointment of commissioners with full power to investigate and prosecute all violations.

6th. Resolutions instructing our senators and representatives in Congress to use all their influence to secure the eight-hour system for all navy yards, arsenals, and workshops controlled by the United States government; and

7th. Municipal regulations by the aldermen and common council, making eight hours a day's labor for every man employed by the city, or by contractors who employ help upon work paid for by the city.

RESOLVED, that we most respectfully but earnestly call upon Hon. Alexander H. Rice and Hon. Samuel P. Hooper to use their influence to secure the eight hour system in all national workshops and navy yards, since its adoption would be of as much significance to the labor reform movement as was the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia to emancipation in 1863.

RESOLVED, that in the coming city election we will ask but one question of all candidates, viz: "Will you, if elected, use all your influence to secure the eight-hour system for every laborer and mechanic employed by the City of Boston, by contractors or otherwise, and at the rate of pay usually allowed in the ten-hour system?"

RESOLVED, that American and English legislation has long since sanctioned all of the principles involved in these measures, and that the expediency of adopting them is vindicated by the vast moral and material consequences resulting from a reduction of hours.

RESOLVED, that the great material advantage to the laborer of the eight-hour system is, that it is the only way by which his wages can ever be permanently increased, without increasing the price of the article produced – that this increase in the laborers' wages will be at the expense of the vast wealth of individual capitalist, and not at the expense of the laboring consumer – that the simple increase of wages means, the first step on that long road which ends at last in a more equal distribution of the fruits of industry, in which the producer and the capitalist will be one! That as the vast fortunes of individuals must melt back into the hands which produced them, under a higher standard of intelligence, so also must the abuses, monopolies, and illegitimate burdens which the people unconsciously impose upon themselves – that this means the downfall of a corrupt moneyed aristocracy, and of its natural counterpart, extreme poverty and pauperism – forcing children, and wives, and maidens who would be wives if men were better paid, into the labor market, to elbow down each other's wages to a point which makes prostitution a necessity, and furnishing a theatre for the demagogue in times of financial revulsion – perpetuating the system which makes such periods inevitable, and which furnishes to traitors at home and enemies abroad the only basis upon which to found a hope for northern votes in favor of repudiating the debt of the nation.

RESOLVED, that with grateful hearts we praise our Heavenly Father that He has permitted his angel of peace once more to wave her silver wand over our recently distracted land. That we rejoice that the rebel aristocracy of the South has been crushed, that we rejoice that beneath the glorious shadow of our victorious flag men of every clime, lineage and color are recognized as

free. But while we will bear with patient endurance the burden of the public debt, we yet want it to be known that the workingmen of America will in future claim a more equal share in the wealth their industry creates in peace and a more equal participation in the privileges and blessings of those free institutions, defended by their manhood on many a bloody field of battle. . .

4. "THE POWER OF THE CHEAPER OVER THE DEARER"

The manuscript of this article is among those which Ira Steward willed to Miss Marietta Marshall, of Nantucket Island, and is the only portion of the manuscript for his projected book which Steward had completed ready for the printer. It was probably written between the years 1875 and 1879, and summarizes his scattered writings and addresses on machinery, competition and the standard of living. The words in brackets are corrections made by the author in the copyist's manuscript.

In the production of wealth, there is a king fact or law, that rules all others, which may be called the north star in political economy; and it is this: that cheaper ways of doing will always succeed against dearer ways. The cheapness that undersells, is superior to every other power that exists in human affairs. It is infinitely stronger than legislation or armies; custom or habit; or the most absolute despotism. There is nothing but the distruction of the whole human race, that can prevent the cheapest products, or the lowest paid producers from underselling those that are sufficiently costly. There is but one power that can ever prevail against the cheapness that now undersells and rules every thing; and that is the superior power of a cheaper cheapness. The cheapness that exists, can be undersold and driven out of existence, by still cheaper ways of doing. In other words if the cheapness that now undersells, can only be made sufficiently expensive, it can be driven out of the world! If the cheapest fact [things] can be made to changes places with the dearest, they will be forced out of the market by the cheaper ones.

Dearest and cheapest are not absolute or stationary

conditions; they are relative or comparative. If the cost of the dearest is sufficiently reduced, that which was cheapest is thereby made dearest; though its original price is precisely what it was before its relation was changed. That which was cheapest may be made dearest, if that which was dearest is made sufficiently cheap. There is perhaps no limit to cheapness in its truest or best sense; or to dearness, except the limit to civilization. But there has always been and probably always will be, dearer and cheaper methods of production, for the time being. And whichever way is cheapest, for the time or place, will undersell every other way; and the ways that are undersold, are the dearest. The word "dearest" applies to those ways of doing, that are not practiced for the reason that they cost more than the ways that prevail; and to productions that are not for sale because they would be undersold if they were. If a seeming cheapness is driven out of the market, it is dearest whenever and as long as it can be undersold. And the seeming dearness that drives every thing else from the market because it undersells, must be called the cheapest. Nothing but the cheapness that drives, is cheapest. And only the dearness that is driven, is dear, in the sense these two words are used here.

The most of mankind will naturally pay the fewest dollars and cents necessary to supply their demands. Very few buyers ever ask whether the way of producing the products they consume is pleasant or unpleasant, easy or hard, or who does the work, or where it was done. If the quality, quantity, and appearance of an article are satisfactory, they are satisfied to buy of those who sell cheapest! If those who sell, or produce, could choose between the hardest and the easier ways of creating wealth, they would prefer the easier, without re-

gard to cheapness or expense. But the easiest way for producers, would be the hardest way for consumers, if it cost the most money. Consumers or buyers would find it harder to earn the extra money necessary to pay high prices, than to pay low ones.

As those who sell are ruled by those who buy, and the buyers are ruled by the lowest prices, the hardest ways of producing must prevail, until they can be made the dearest, and driven out of the market by the power of the cheapest. The hardest and most disagreeable and the slowest methods can be driven out of the market and out of the world, as soon as they are made sufficiently expensive. In other words the easiest and most agreeable ways [methods] can only prevail when they undersell every other.

Patent offices are full of ingenious contrivances for saving hard and disagreeable labor. But thousands of patents fail, because the results produced cannot undersell more laborious methods. A mechanical success will fail, unless it also succeeds commercially. If mankind ever learn how to produce the most abundant wealth, they will do it in obedience to the power of the cheaper over the dearer. If they remain in poverty, they will do so in obedience to the same universal law. In either case the cheapest will always undersell; and this fact governs the whole world.

The wealth which the most machine using or civilized nations have already produced, is, as far as it goes, cheaper for them, than poverty. Therefore they have some wealth. And the poverty of the most barbarous, or hand labor nations, is cheaper for them, than the wealth of the most enlightened. Therefore they have poverty. In each case the cheaper fact lives and rules; and is the natural cause of the death of the dearest; but

which of these two facts, poverty or wealth, shall continue to be the cheaper, and how wealth can be made cheaper than poverty, are the coming questions. In other words, how can poverty be made so much dearer than wealth, that it will be driven out of the world, so that no one can afford to remain poor?

There is no natural way of increasing the production of wealth, except through the power of the cheapest to undersell the dearest. Artificial plans for increasing wealth, are hardly worth discussing. Very little, if any real wealth can ever be produced by them. But the objections to them will seem clearer, as this statement proceeds. Artificial plans are worth answering, merely because they are advocated by people whose sincerity and earnestness makes them well worth convincing. The most unproductive and worst ways of doing, and the lowest paid laborers and their hand made products, can be driven out of the world as soon as they have been made sufficiently dear.

Anything that can be made dearer, is helpless. And any thing made cheaper, is resistless. The forces that produce the least wealth, should be made dearest, and those that produce most should be made cheapest. The most productive forces are natural, the least productive are human. Human muscular force should be made dearest, so that it can be driven out of the market, or out of the world. And natural forces should be made cheapest so that they may be brought into the world. Steam and the law of gravitation, a water fall, or animal power, electricity, sunshine and rain are natural agencies for carrying burdens, sending messages, making pictures, and disseminating knowledge, infinitely swifter and easier, better and cheaper than can be done by man's unaided muscular exertion. In the rapid production of

wealth, very little can be done by hand labor, or with tools that require about all the strength and skill of a human being, to use them. The quality of work done with such tools is some times excellent, but a great deal of time and labor is required to produce a very limited quantity. To employ muscular labor instead of the great forces of nature, not only means poverty, but the physical abuse, deformity, and premature decay of the laborer. This means shorter lives for laborers, and the loss of their self-possession and self-respect, which does much to foster the oppressive and absurd idea, that an inferior or laboring class is necessary to do the world's hard work; who must tamely submit to the slavish discipline and lordly authority exercised by a superior class that is expected to be kind to the poor, if the poor are good to work. But the logic of this theory of the producer, is chattel slavery. And slavery means still more poverty. For slaves produce far less wealth than any other class that does the world's hard work by hand labor. Slaveholders were no more oblivious to the poverty of the slave system, than capitalists are to the comparative unproductiveness and poverty of an exclusively laboring class.

And as long as tired human hands do most of the world's hard work, the sentimental pretense of honoring and respecting the horny handed toiler is as false and absurd as the idea that a solid foundation for a house can be made out of soap bubbles. It is the most offensive hypocrisy and mockery to pretend to honor an act that is the physical and moral destruction of the actor. But when the fingers, nerves and teeth that produce wealth shall be made of iron, steel, and wire, instead of quivering flesh and blood, the most laborious man will have nothing in his employment to prevent his becoming the

most polished and dignified man. In his personal presence and bearing he may be more of an Apollo or a Lord Chesterfield, than the bankers and merchant princes of today. Servile habits of thought and obedience will no longer be associated with "hewers of wood, and drawers of water," although any one of them will hew vastly more wood, and draw far more water through the agency of natural forces, than a thousand or ten thousand such laborers can today.

Natural forces never grow tired; are always ready when the conditions necessary to employ them are ready; and to their power to produce wealth abundantly there is no conceivable limit. It is more common and familiar to speak of "labor saving machinery" than of the labor that may be saved by "natural forces," though machinery and natural forces are practically one and the same. But "machinery" is the human side of the fact, and "natural forces" are the Divine side.

The machinery that "pays" represents the precise extent to which mankind have already applied natural forces; but the inexhaustible extent to which natural forces may be applied, cannot be represented by any machinery that man has ever built. Words representing perfection like nature, and words representing imperfection like machinery, can never be used as the exact equivalent of each other. Machinery may represent man's failures to save labor, as well as his success. But natural forces never fail.

> In human works though labored on with pain,
> A thousand movements scarce one purpose gain,
> In God's one single can his end produce,
> Yet serves to second to some other use.

There is more simplicity in saying "natural forces," for into these two words can be crowded and forgotten, all of the complications and mistakes, confusion and

variations associated with the word machinery. All of the locomotives, engines and boilers, the rail-roads, steam-ships and much of manufacturing, may be narrowed down to the single and simple fact of the natural power of steam. And the natural fact that water will run down hill, is sometimes combined with the power of steam, and made to supply a whole city with water. Steam will force water to the highest reservoirs, and the law of gravitation will force it down again, to the lowest outlets. Intelligent people every where are sufficiently familiar with the fact, that the moving or productive power of steam, or of any natural force is vastly superior to the physical power of a human being.

But how to substitute natural for human power is the great unanswered question. And the question is not answered when rail-roads, canals, steam ships, water or gas works are built or run by government. A governmental plan is artificial. The natural plan is to make human labor so costly, that rail-roads, canals, steamships, water and gas works etc. will be the cheapest way of doing. Very little if any machinery, or even horse power can exist in the lowest labor paid countries of the world, because its results could be undersold by hand labor. Machinery most prevails where labor is most highly rewarded; because its results will undersell those of the most highly paid laborers, if they attempted to do the same work by hand. Whenever the price of human labor is sufficiently increased, the poverty of hand labor can be undersold by the wealth of machinery. And thus it is, and thus it may [will] be, that wealth becomes cheaper than poverty. There is no power in the Universe to prevent the substitution of machinery or natural forces for hand labor, as fast as the products of machinery can undersell those of hand labor. But as long

as the results of hand labor can undersell those of machinery, there is no power that can substitute machinery for hand labor. That which undersells, conquers every thing; whether it is the poverty of human forces, or the wealth of natural ones. In China, sedan chairs are used to carry passengers, instead of horses and carriages. Not because transportation upon men's shoulders is easier, or more rapid and pleasant than by horse power; but because there, a man undersells a horse. Where men are cheaper than horses, the rudest and most humiliating contrivances for travel must prevail; to which royalty itself must bow down. Where the sedan chair system is so nearly universal, the streets and highways are too narrow and rough and crooked in most cases for horses and carriages.

The most of the streets in the city of Canton in China, are less than eight feet wide. The Emperor of China can send abroad, and import if he chooses, the most elegant and costly equipages. But if he attempted to make the roads and streets of his empire wide enough for their use, it would probably cost him a rebellion, if not the loss of his throne. He can cut off the heads of thousands of his subjects, without serious question; but before he can ride over his dominions by horse and carriage, a political economy must prevail that will make horses cheaper than Chinamen.

As it is, the Emperor of China and his subjects are now governed in their journeys on land by the fact that the sedan chairists can undersell horses and carriages. Like his "viceroys" of the provinces, and the nobility, he must travel mostly by sedan chairs or upon elephants; either of which can proceed where carriage wheels cannot roll, and where streets are too narrow for carriages to pass each other.

The sedan chair is a type of the fact that prevails in various forms, in the most civilized parts of the world. Whether in any country the method of doing is productive or unproductive, agreeable or disagreeable, healthy [wholesome] or unhealthy [unwholesome], fast or slow, is not the question that decides. It is the underselling fact or thing that decides. It is no more uncomplimentary to the half civilization prevailing in China to harness a human being to the drudgery that belongs to a beast or a machine, than is the humiliating and wasting household drudgery now imposed upon the women of the most enlightened parts of the world.

But the architecture and conveniences, the sewerage and plumbing, the steam and other agencies that belong to a higher domestic civilization, are undersold by the low paid labor of women. In America a woman is cheaper than steam, waste pipes and elevators. She undersells the work that ought to be done better and easier in a laundry and baking department; and for precisely the same reason that in China, a man undersells a horse. To abolish the drudgery of the average New England kitchen, and to introduce horses, carriages and machinery into China, are essentially the same problem, to be solved upon the same principle; and are destined to meet with the same narrow objections.

In the simple power of the cheaper over the dearer, is contained the Divine or natural plan for making the selfishness of men serve each other, as soon as the wealth and intelligence of the more advanced part of them, have given them the power to lift up the rest of the race. When selfishness is sufficiently enlightened, it discovers that its own personal interests cannot be very well served, without serving others. The universal power of the cheapest, makes it absolutely impossible for any

part of the human race, to rise very much higher than the rest.

It is somewhat troublesome for the highest to pause in their pleasures, and lift up the lowest; but they will be rewarded with more wealth if they do, and be punished with more poverty if they do not. Nature provides the lowest animals with some sort of power or weapon for self defence, with which to fight the battle of life. It would be strange therefore if every human being however feeble, or ignorant, or far removed from the rest of mankind, were not equally well armed against the rich and strong and selfish. In the simple power of the cheapest, may be found the most deadly and effective weapon that nature could invent, to place in the hands of the heathen and outcasts of human society.

Among brutes, the powers given for defense or attack, are for the moment merely, when they see and meet each other. But between human beings, a far more subtle and curious relation exists, by which they may bless, or punish each other, even if they live ten thousand miles apart, and are ignorant of each other's existence; or of this penalty for forgetting the brotherhood of the entire human race. Men, need not meet each other, like animals, for attack. The way for a man to attack a man, is to forget him!

This is the wicked, cruel and unrepented attack that the world's civilization is now making upon more than a thousand millions of the human race. But the retaliation for this neglect is as remorseless and effective as any penalty ever visited by nature upon man's transgressions.

The poor and ignorant heathen in far off lands cannot raise armies nor create navies to visit the more advanced nations of the world and destroy their wealth and com-

merce. But they do us infinitely more harm; for they place limits, far beyond our power to estimate or comprehend, upon the wealth we might otherwise create for ourselves, if they had not been selfishly and wickedly forgotten. For they can and do work for wages that undersell ours. Low paid labor is the power blindly and unconsciously exercised by hundreds of millions of laborers in China, India, Africa and elsewhere, upon the more highly paid labor of America and England, or of Germany and France.

Fifty years ago, the power of the cheapest was not "world wide" as it is today. The opposite sides of the globe have not, until recently, been brought into buying and selling relations; and could not be, until the cost of transportation had been sufficiently reduced, and the wealth to pay for transportation had been enough increased, to make the products of our home labor dearer than those which could be obtained from the other side of the globe. When the point had at last been reached where it would pay to send to the uttermost parts of the earth for low paid laborers or their products, then the most highly paid labor of the world began to pay its first penalty for the existence of low paid laborers any where. Abundant work, high wages, or more wealth, are the great inducements for most people to leave the homes of their childhood, and migrate to other parts of the world. This explains most of the world's emigration to America, which by 1830, had developed itself sufficiently to attract millions of Europeans to our shores.

A very few people, one in thousands perhaps, were drawn here from a positive love for political and religious freedom. But this kind of emigration is exceptional, and came most when our country was poor.

While the few people who came to America from an abstract love of liberty, and the many who came to get a better living, were the natural complements of each other, the ideas and motives of these two classes of emigrants have been so mixed or embellished, that our "Fourth of July" way of putting things eloquently represents millions of people fleeing from "European oppression." But this is a "fancy" statement of the case; for nearly all of them have fled, as they feel the fact, from European poverty! Very few of them came over for an idea! The most of them came for bread! It was not the frequency and freedom of our elections, but the comparatively high wages in America, that the agents or "runners" of emigrant vessels most heralded and exaggerated, to induce poor laborers in the old world to take passage to the new. The population of the world is said to be some thirteen [fifteen] hundred and fifty millions. But the population of what is called "the civilized world," includes less, perhaps, than two hundred millions, or one to every six or seven of the inhabitants of the whole earth. These two hundred millions produce sufficient wealth and have the commerce necessary to bring the most remote parts of the world into buying and selling relations with each other. Their telegraphs and rapid transportation have already made of our earth a vast whispering gallery; so that the fall of half a cent is heard "clear round the world." They have made the power of the cheaper world-wide.

The barbarism and low wages of ten or twelve hundred millions of the human race are therefore in the relation and condition necessary to undersell the civilization and higher wages of one or two hundred millions, as often as their periods of prosperity and "good times" produce employment and wealth enough to be worth

underselling. From time to time the drag-down power of this mighty fact, has been allowed to send a financial and industrial crash, throughout all civilized nations. It comes with sufficient frequency to keep an expression of insecurity, anxiety, and alarm stamped upon the faces of the most enlightened and wealthy classes. It interrupts the pleasures, travel and enterprise of those who fancy themselves the most secure, strips from them their purple and fine linen, their silks, laces and broadcloths; and sells horses, carriages and palaces under the auctioneer's hammer. It consumes the life-long savings of the most industrious and frugal laborer; robs his children of education and culture, takes away his political power and self-respect, and makes him a tramp and criminal. If all this is hard for two hundred millions of Europeans and Americans, the low prices and condition of more than two thirds of the human race are still harder. Their physical and mental destitution mean despotism and idolatry, famine and pestilence; and the existence of a capitalist class is the great agency, established by purely natural causes, for making the world's highest civilization sufficiently sensitive to such physical and moral degradation, through the absolute power of the cheapest over the dearest. And thus it is that "a solitary sigh hath power to move the whole world!" for tears and groans will undersell laughter and happiness.

Thus it is that not many silver table knives and forks can be used on one side of the world, as long as the people on the other side are eating with chop sticks! And when chop sticks are driven out of the world, the present political economy of the educated classes will follow them, and never be heard of again. Terrible avalanches of snow and ice sometimes roll down the Alps, crushing and carrying with them trees, rocks and villages. But

these avalanches are the merest boy's snow balls in comparison with the world's lowest labor prices and cheapness, which from time to time sweep down from the misery and barbarism of ten or twelve hundred millions of forgotten and neglected human beings, and undersell Christendom.

The statesmanship that is accepted and enthroned in the United States and England, Germany and France, advances the most local and contradicting theories to account for these reverses – theories which will some day be consigned to the oblivion that has long ago buried the memories of the superstitious attempt of ignorant people in past ages to explain the causes of thunder and lightning, earthquakes and volcanoes, northern lights, shooting stars and comets, or an eclipse of the sun or moon. Ever since the world began, "hard times" or periods of business depression have visited the most prosperous and powerful nations, as often as their prosperity has lifted them sufficiently above the poverty and misery of surrounding nations to make their superior condition conspicuous and an object of attraction or of envy to the people abroad. There is no news that will travel so far and so rapidly, among the poor, as stories of abundance; and distance always lends enchantment to their view. The wealth of the richest countries is always exaggerated. They are reported as "lands flowing with milk and honey," while, "gold and silver may be found in their streets." But as often as the hunger and want of the outside world has undersold, or captured, or devoured the prosperity of the most successful nations, the policy that had prevailed, or the statesmanship that had reigned when their reverses began, or culminated, has been charged by the sufferers, or the historian, or by various shades of demagogues perhaps,

with being the great criminal cause that ought to have been dethroned, or voted out of office. And there are sufficient facts in most cases, to sustain the theory of such a charge. So that local theories have thus far prevailed against the view which ought to include the whole world.

The utmost integrity, industry and unselfishness in public and private life, and the most ingenious and perfect system of finance, currency and taxation, are all alike failures, if they do nothing but increase the wealth, wages and prosperity of any single nation, beyond a certain point or level, above the rest of mankind. The law of level, or balance, or proportion, is a great fact in nature, though its moral manifestations are not as easy to see and comprehend as its physical.

It is easy to see that the balance of a perfect spheroid, like planet earth, would be destroyed, and its grandest possibilities be defeated, by having mountains hundreds of miles high on the one side and valleys hundreds of miles deep on the other. Physical inequalities like these, would risk the regularity and certainty of its daily revolutions, and perhaps suddenly move the north and south poles nearer to the heated equator. This would instantly change its climates and seasons, and before mankind could recover from the shock, hundreds of millions would freeze or starve to death. The physical balance of the earth, and the moral balance of its inhabitants, are propositions which mutually suggest and argue each other.

This is very far from saying however, that there can be no inequalities whatever, upon the face of the earth, or that the condition or wages of mankind must be precisely alike all over the world. But the inequalities or differences must not be sufficient to endanger the balance

of certain physical or moral necessities. Mountains five miles high can exist upon our earth. How much higher, perhaps no one can tell. But there is a limit somewhere.

And it seems equally clear, through the world-wide law of level in prices, that there is no room upon a planet no larger than ours, for six cent and five dollar laborers. The idea that on the same earth, at the same time, there can be millions of six cent and millions of five dollar laborers, is as much at war with nature, as that valleys could be hundreds of miles deep and mountains hundreds of miles high. A whole world of laborers can have a hundred or a thousand times more for their services than any of them now receive. But the idea that a part of them can be favored by prices a hundred times larger than the rest, is at war with their solidarity, or moral balance of nature, and can never prevail.

The famine and starvation prices of Asia, the half civilization of South America, and the barbarism of Africa and the South Sea Islands are sure to undersell the wages of Europe and the United States, as soon as they arise to a certain level; thus placing natural limits somewhere to the prosperity of the most prosperous, above which they never can hope to rise until something has been done to raise the level of the prices that prevail in the lowest paid countries on the earth.

If this is true, it will establish the fact that the time has fully arrived, when political economy must begin with the idea that our country is the world, and our countrymen are all mankind! A sufficiently world-wide view of political economy will explode many of the fallacies, and much of the bitterness that exists. No surprise should ever be felt or expressed when wages are reduced, or the length of day's works is increased, as

long as more than half of mankind are getting ten cents a day, or less.

It is a mistake to ask or expect capitalists, who are nothing but the world's natural agents for this vast cheapness and misery, to pay more than the lowest wages, or to accept less than the most hours that prevail for day's works. The best that can ever be expected of them is that they will be satisfied with their right to buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest. To do this, they must employ the cheapest labor they can obtain, and use machinery as fast as the progress of mankind makes that more profitable to them than hand labor. Those who attempt to do much differently are risking their power to remain capitalists.

More real liberality, sympathy and progress for mankind, at large, is contained in the fact that most of them will pay the lowest wages and prices possible, than in the few seemingly generous exceptions to this rule. Sometimes a sympathetic capitalist will attempt to excuse the reductions made in wages, by saying, on the "Supply and Demand" theory, "I am not to blame! It was natural law that did it."

But he says this because he sees only two parties to the transaction. He sees his own financial danger in case wages are not reduced; and he also sees the danger of the laborer's starvation or demoralization, if wages are reduced.

But the third great element in the case – the fact of the starved and pauperized labor of Asia and elsewhere, and the irresistible power of that fact, he does not see with sufficient clearness to comprehend the largeness of the situation; though he may have threatened long ago to send for some of this very labor cheapness to undersell Europeans and Americans at home. If he could see the

threefold relation of the situation, and see those abroad who undersell as clearly as those at home who are undersold, his "demand and supply" apology for reducing wages would perhaps give way to a more Shakespearean style of excuse; and he could say "not that I love the laborers of Europe and America less, but the laborers of the whole world more."

True criticism will never deal with the legitimate or natural conduct of a capitalist, but with the hundreds of millions of low paid laborers all over the earth, whose misery and helplessness make the existence of a capitalist class possible and necessary. A capitalist cannot be censured for his own existence therefore. He was born, because very much worse creations or conditions would have existed, if his own did not. When wages are reduced from time to time, all that the laborer sees is the hand of a capitalist. But when he sees the terrific fact which created capitalists, and which gives them all the power they ever possess to reduce wages, his anger towards them will soften. He will then see that from henceforth the remedies for poverty and low wages must be world wide! He will no longer be interested in the claim that "better times" will follow, in this country or in any other, by local or personal political changes, unless they have the most direct reference to the price of human labor all over the globe. He will see rather that any political changes proposed are local and narrow, which do not undertake to deal with more than forty millions of Americans, or as many more Germans, Frenchmen and Englishmen. That the remedies proposed in England and Germany, in France and Belgium, in Canada and the United States must agree and that the politics for labor must be the politics for human nature. He will see that nothing but the simplest facts

or politics of human nature can ever succeed with a world that has a thousand religions and speaks thirty-six hundred languages; that the conduct of a capitalist is due to his existence, and that his existence is due to the existence of hundreds of millions of forgotten laborers; and he will see that his wages can be raised by increasing their compensation and civilization. And that the price and purchasing power of every worker on the earth can be increased so easily and naturally, that capitalists will be absorbed out of existence, or out of the world, by a process that will produce for every human being infinitely more luxuries, security and happiness than can ever be possessed or enjoyed by people exceptionally wealthy, but surrounded by millions of poor people, who are, in the language of John Stuart Mill, "angry, equally for what they have not, as well as for what others have."

The world-wide distance that separates the dearest and cheapest laborers from each other is reduced as fast as the difference in their wages is increased. The difference between six cents a day in China, and one or two dollars a day in America, has already brought these two countries uncomfortably near to each other; and if the value of day's works in America could be still further increased, without increasing their tendency to rise in China, these two countries would thus be brought still nearer together than they are today. The unparalleled stagnation of industry for the last five or six years, and the consequent fall in our wages, is all that has saved the eastern and northern part of the United States from a much larger influx of Chinamen, and the most deadly competition of the cheapest with the dearest that has ever occurred since the world began.

And the distress that low paid laborers from abroad

have already inflicted upon ourselves could not have been postponed many years longer, even by an immediate repeal of the special and stolen legislation that has aided capitalists in their cheap importations. Of course such legislation ought to be repealed at once, and the advent of low paid laborers to the United States made to depend wholly upon their own discovery of the fact that here is the dearest market for their labor; and their coming to America should be left entirely to unaided private enterprise.

It is treason to the idea of republicanism, to use the power of a republic to make labor cheap. Because the most highly paid labor the world ever saw was necessary to make a republican government possible. Confidence in the republic fails when wages fall. All treaties and intercourse with foreign nations, and our local and national legislation should proceed with reference to the moral and natural causes that increase the price of human labor everywhere.

Prices, like water, are always seeking a level. If two bodies of water are sufficiently near, and sufficiently out of level with each other, their natural tendency to a common level causes a disturbance. The falls of Niagara are the disturbance caused by the waters of Lake Erie seeking the level of Lake Ontario. A water fall and a wage fall both come from the power of the lowest level over that of the highest. But while a water fall means a physical and local level, a wage fall means a moral and world-wide level; in which it should be as easy to recognize the relation that Chinese and American laborers sustain to each other, as the relation that Lake Ontario sustains to Lake Erie.

The misery and the terrors that Chinamen have already inflicted upon western America are the moral

Niagara or judgment that has already begun to fall upon the world's highest civilization as a retribution and punishment for forgetting the brotherhood of the entire human race. But if the love of republican institutions is not a sufficiently strong or tangible motive to make us remember the lowest paid laborers on the earth, then the penalties and punishments for forgetting them should be remembered.

The world wide power of the lowest, over the highest paid labor, can no longer be disregarded. The natural tendency of the capitalist classes to send abroad and import the lowest paid laborers they can obtain is simply a part of the Divine or natural economy, which makes the most enlightened selfishness of the human race serve that part of mankind who have been left behind in the world's progress. Of course the motives which actuate an employer to import cheaper labor, are selfish and narrow. But while he thinks only of himself, he is as useful and as indispensable in the social economy of the nineteenth century, as were the monsters, the colossal mastodons, reptiles, mammoths, and grosser forms of animal life, that existed ages before this world was in condition for a human being; and when for immense periods, it might have seemed as if these were the highest existences destined to dwell upon the earth.

These huge and terrible beasts were for countless ages the only capitalists that prevailed; but their capital consisted in enormous tusks, or jaws like machines for crushing rocks, and in teeth like paving stones. And they wandered through tropical woods and shallow lakes tearing and devouring each other or the trees and giant weeds, trampling and crushing everything in their way. They were the great living millstones of nature, for grinding and digesting by the massiveness and power of

their physical strength and capital, the wildest and crudest conditions in vegetable and animal life. In the grand economy of nature, they prepared the earth for man. But their brutish and hungry natures were no more oblivious to the humanity and immortality that were to come after them, than capitalistic selfishness and ignorance are oblivious today to the Divinity and heaven upon earth that are to follow when they have sufficiently prepared the way.

The great instrumentalities created by nature, are never allowed to see or know too much or too little. How much milk would a cow give, if she knew or saw ever so much more than was necessary to fulfil the function of a cow? She would be unhappy, and finally die with the idea of eating grass or hay all day in the fields and barns just to make butter and cheese and improve the taste of tea and coffee. But if cows saw or knew too little they could not give milk. They see and know just enough to fulfil the function of a cow.

> The lamb thy rite dooms to bleed today,
> Had he thy reason, would he skip and play?
> Pleased to the last, he crops the flowery food;
> And licks the hand just raised to shed his blood.

When a Massachusetts capitalist proclaimed his intention of sending to the other side of the world for men who would work cheaper than American "Crispins," it was a proclamation, or a voice from heaven, by the way of hell, that "God hath made of one blood all nations that dwell upon all the face of the earth." If we forget the Fatherhood of God, and the brotherhood of man, our day's works will be undersold by those who have been forgotten. The fact that a pagan will work cheaper than a Christian, should enlarge the original idea of foreign missions. The highest wages paid on the earth

are paid to Christians. Has a heathen been truly converted to Christianity who works for six cents a day? The lowest wages and the highest civilization cannot go together, and Christianity ought to mean infinitely more than any civilization that has ever prevailed since the world began. The teachings of geology afford a hint of the fact that ever since planet earth began its course around the sun, the vast physical changes that have slowly succeeded each other, have always included the whole world.

And it seems equally necessary and according to nature, that the whole world should be included, in the grander moral changes of its future. And that the moral power necessary to reach every human being on the earth, shall be equal to the physical power exercised in creating a whole world for man.

In its beginning, the earth was a vast body of liquid luminous fire; intensely heated, and exceedingly rare. And in this condition, nebulous, gaseous, vapory, molten, it could spin itself into a mighty spheroid. But for countless ages there could be no changing seasons, no nights, no water, no life, nothing but fire, fire, everywhere, through and through the world. As its heat gradually decreased, a crust began to form; and then for long ages the globe swung round the sun, the heated, steaming, hissing, boiling arena of a relentless conflict between thousands of millions of cubic miles of liquid fire within its cooling crust, and oceans of water bursting in from without, until in the lapse of ages the entire surface of the earth – rock and mountain ribbed – was finally land and water made.

Then followed ages of vegetation, in which the world was plant made. Then followed other ages in which it was beast made, and finally it was man made. Next,

the whole world is to be heaven, or angel made. But before the comparative perfection to come can exist upon any part of our earth, the last savage, or pagan, or ten cent laborer, must have disappeared as completely as the fire and steam, and grosser forms of animal life, that prepared the way for man. Natural causes can make every laborer on the earth so costly that the most productive and expensive machinery necessary to produce wealth abundantly and rapidly and easily will be made cheaper than human exertions.

The power of the cheapest will then drive out of the markets, and out of the world the higher cost poverty of hand labor with the wealth of machinery. The only object in the universe to be made dear, is Man! His expensiveness, makes every thing else cheap, provided it is so universal that no human being can be found on the earth to undersell another. And when the statesmanship that presides over the civilized world, has learned the natural way to increase the price of human labor any where, it has learned how it can be done everywhere. And a whole world of men sufficiently dear can make a world of wealth cheaper than a world of poverty.

5. THE FIRST STATE LAW

Public Laws of Illinois, 1867, p. 101. The following was the first state law enacted. Similar laws were adopted in the same year by Missouri (March 13), and New York (May 9). Each of these laws permitted a longer day by contract.

AN ACT making eight hours a legal day's work. Approved and in force March 5, 1867. §1. Be it enacted by the People of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly, on and after the first day of May, 1867, eight hours of labor between the rising and the setting of the sun, in all mechanical trades, arts, and employments, and other cases of labor and service by the day, except in farm employments, shall constitute and be a legal day's work, where there is no special contract or agreement to the contrary.

§2. This act shall not apply to or in any way affect labor or service by the year, month, or week; nor shall any person be prevented by anything herein contained from working as many hours over time, or extra hours as he or she may agree, and shall not, in any sense, be held to apply to farm labor.

IV

INTERNATIONAL ATTEMPTS

1. THE NATIONAL LABOR UNION AND THE INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION

(a) THE NATIONAL LABOR CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS

National Labor Congress, 1866. *Workingman's Advocate*, Sept. 1, 1866, p. 4, col. 2.

[By Mr. Harding of New York] WHEREAS, a World's Congress of Labor is about to be held in the City of Geneva, one of the cantons of the Swiss Republic; and whereas the time is now too short for a delegate to be sent from these United States, therefore

RESOLVED, that the Executive Council of the National Labor Union be authorized to tender the thanks of this convention to the Central Organization of Labor in Europe, together with a copy of the proceedings of this convention, bidding them God speed in their glorious work: and that the executive council, in the event of another such convention being held before another meeting of this Congress, they be authorized to send a delegate to such convention. [Adopted.]

National Labor Congress, 1867. *Workingman's Advocate*, August 24 (31), 1867, p. 2, col. 4, and p. 3, col. 2.

[By committee on delegate to Europe] RESOLVED, that this Labor union, during its present session, elect a delegate to proceed without unnecessary delay to Europe for the purpose of examination into their systems of combination and co-operation, and that he have power to enter into such arrangements by treaty or otherwise, as he may deem best for the prevention of special

importations to impoverish alike the workingmen of America and Europe, and to effect a more perfect understanding as to the workings of the various reform associations in both countries.

Mr. Cameron called attention to the fact that it would be of little use for a delegate to go to Europe this year, to the Lausanne Congress, but it would be desirable that the delegate be present at the meeting of 1868.

Mr. Sylvis moved the appointment of a committee to send an agent to Europe, who could do great service in letting men know when we have strikes in this country, and gain information from the people which he can transmit to the workingmen in this country. Mr. Sylvis further stated that he did not think a man would gather half as much knowledge from attending the congress as by looking around among the workmen. He had not been able in the past to succeed in letting the people there know of the existence of strikes in this country, as the secretary of the union in England had been in league with the emigration agent, and shared the head money with him.

Mr. Trevellick mentioned several cases of men who had been induced to emigrate here on promise of work, and had then been offered work on farms at twelve dollars per month.

Mr. Michels, of Pittsburgh, said that the employers in that section had organized to bring on an overwhelming flux of glass blowers from Europe, and the workingmen of that city alone would do a great deal towards paying the expense of an agent to Europe to counteract the evil workings of the bosses.

Mr. Hinchcliffe referred to the operations of the Emigrant Aid Society, which was ostensibly formed for the purpose of settling up the public lands, but these

gentlemen were themselves locating college scrip, and doing all they could to prevent these lands from being settled. The fact is, they are a perfect pack of swindlers, operating on the workingmen of Europe by their agents there, and bringing them over here to the detriment of their own interests. The sooner that system of swindling was abolished, the better. The men who have been at the head of the trades organization in Europe have too often accepted bribes from employers here to send men over to the states like a pack of cattle, while it is well known that there are hundreds of thousands here out of employment. They deceive the men there, ill treat them on the passage, and cheat them when they arrive here. An agent should be sent over to Europe at once to counteract that plan of working.

Mr. Lucker said it was a very good thing, if they could only "bell the cat." He did not know where the finances were to come from.

Mr. Scott, of Pittsburgh, said that the men brought over to that city from Prussia were not brought here by the Emigrant Aid Societies, but by an assessment on each furnace, and sent over to the American consul there who, for $40,000, agreed to send 1,000 men over here and did send about 800. The workmen agreed among themselves, that at no trade would they work side by side with those imported men, who were now being supported by the employers to save a greater trouble.

Mr. Harding thought it would pay to send three delegates to Europe instead of one. He would move this in amendment, to test the sense of the house.

Mr. Peabody thought that one agent was plenty; he should reside there for a length of time, and put the heads of unions in communication with each other. . .

[AFTERNOON SESSION.] The Union proceeded to

consider action on the question of sending a delegate to Europe. The question was taken on Mr. Harding's amendment to the amendment of striking out one and inserting three and was declared lost. The question was also taken on Mr. Cameron's amendment, and it was declared lost. The original report was then adopted.

[By Mr. Hinchcliffe] RESOLVED, that this congress deprecates the practice, too often adopted, by the American consuls in Europe, of lending their aid to the capitalists of these states, by acting as agents for the purpose of sending invoices of workmen to the order of men who use them to supplant the industrial orders of our own country. [Adopted.]

[By Mr. Evans (p. 3, col. 2)] WHEREAS, the efforts of the working classes of Europe to obtain political power, improve their status social and otherwise, and to throw off the servitude in which they have been, and are now placed by the institutions and laws under which they live, afford a gratifying indication of the progress of justice, enlightment, and of the sentiments of humanity, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the National Labor Congress express its sympathy for co-operation with them in their struggle against political and social wrongs.

RESOLVED, that our delegate to Europe be requested to convey to the working classes whom he may meet with, in the performance of his mission, our sympathy and purpose of co-operation.

[Adopted.]

National Labor Congress, 1868.

From *Report* of William J. Jessup, Vice-president, and Corresponding Representative of New York State, to the President of the National Labor Union. *Proceedings*, p. 10.

. . . Of those received eight [letters] were from Great Britain, four were written by the secretary of the

International Workingmen's Association. On July 20, I received one from J. George Eccarius, general secretary of the association, containing an invitation on the part of the general council, embodied in the following resolution:

RESOLVED, that the American National Labor Union be invited to send a delegation to the International Labor Congress, to be held on the first Monday of September next, at Brussels, in Belgium. That in the absence of the secretary for America, the general secretary be instructed to forward the foregoing resolution to Mr. Wm. J. Jessup, the corresponding officer of the National Labor Union for New York.

On receipt of the above I communicated the resolution to you, and requested you to answer to the association. I also wrote the association by the next mail informing them that, in the absence of any appropriation to cover the expense of sending delegates, we should have to decline the invitation, with thanks for the courtesy extended the National Labor Union. . .

National Labor Congress, 1869.
Workingman's Advocate, Sept. 4, 1869, p. 4, col. 3.

An invitation was received from J. George Eccarius, general secretary of Central Council of London of the International Workingmen's Association to send a delegate to the International Congress of that association to be opened at Basle, Switzerland, on the sixth of next month.[25]

Mr. Horace Day, of New York, moved to refer to the president and executive committee. Agreed to.

[SIXTH DAY.] C. H. Lucker moved to appoint a delegate to represent the union at the International Congress, which is to meet in Switzerland, in September. Agreed to. On motion of Mr. J. C. Sylvis, Mr. A. C. Cameron was unanimously elected as such delegate. On

[25] Extract from this letter is in Ely's *Labor Movement*, 227.

motion of H. H. Day, of New York, Mr. C. H. Lucker was elected associate delegate. . .

National Labor Congress, 1870.

From *Report* of R. F. Trevellick, president. *Workingman's Advocate*, Aug. 27, 1870, p. 1, col. 4; p. 4, col. 1; p. 2, col. 8; p. 3, col. 1; p. 3, col. 2.

At the session of the last Labor Congress a resolution was passed to send a representative from the National Labor Union of the United States to the International Workingmen's Congress at Basle, Switzerland. Mr. A. C. Cameron was elected and accredited as our representative, and from official letters received from there, was gladly received and highly complimented for the high-minded and noble stand he took while there in the cause he so faithfully represented, and it shows the wisdom and forethought evinced by the congress in the selection of a representative on so important a mission.

The following are the resolutions passed by the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association: 1st. That an emigration bureau be established in conjunction with the National Labor Union of the United States. 2nd. That in case of strikes the Council shall by all possible means endeavor to prevent workmen being engaged in Europe to be used by American capitalists against the workman of America.

I have not taken any action on the communication and resolutions, for I am under the impression there is no power vested in the president by the constitution, or by the last congress, to indorse so important a project officially, without positive instructions from the congress. I therefore call your attention to the matter, and recommend that this congress take some action in regard to it, that the efforts put forth by our able and efficient representative in a foreign land may not be in vain, but rather

to bring the workingmen of Europe and the United States into a closer bond of unity.

[SECOND DAY] Mr. A. C. Cameron, of Chicago, the delegate to the International Congress held at Basle, Switzerland, in 1869, presented his report. The report was accepted and placed on file.

[SIXTH DAY–By Mr. Cameron, of Illinois] RESOLVED, that this congress appoint a permanent committee of five, who shall constitute for the ensuing year the International Bureau of Labor and Emigration, in accordance with the recommendation of the International Workingmen's Congress, held at Basle, Switzerland, submitted by the delegate from the American National Labor Union.

RESOLVED, that the duties of this Bureau shall be generally to enter into correspondence with trades, labor and emigration associations in Europe; obtain and forward information as to the condition of trade and labor, rates of wages, strikes and other such intelligence as may be valuable in the work of ameliorating the condition of labor here and in the old world; to publish the same as may be desirable, and otherwise aid the one high purpose of all who work for our reform – that of the complete unity and enfranchisement of labor everywhere. [Adopted.]

[SEVENTH DAY – By Mr. Sorge] Resolved, the National Labor Union, assembled in Congress, declares its adhesion to the principles of the International Working-men's Association, and expects at no distant day to affiliate with it. . . [Adopted.]

Committee on International Labor, Immigration and Statistical Bureau [announced from the chair] – A. C. Cameron, of Illinois; F. A. Sorge, of New York; Chas.

McLean, of Massachusetts; H. J. Walls, of Ohio; and M. Mehahn, of Maryland.

National Labor Union, 1871.
Workingman's Advocate, Aug. 19, 1871, p. 1, col. 7.

[By Mr. Day] RESOLVED, that this congress representing to a large extent the great laboring interests of the United States, thanks the International Workingman's Association of Europe, and their associates in the United States for the kindly sentiments expressed in their address to this body. Resolved, that a committee of the National Labor Union be appointed by the president of this organization within the next thirty days, to answer said address, and to procure authentic information respecting the great events specially referred to, and such other information as may seem necessary in our efforts to promote the true interests of labor, civilization and progress throughout the civilized world. [Adopted.]

(b) SYLVIS AND THE INTERNATIONAL

Report of the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Workingmen's Association, 1869. English version, pamphlet, p. 13. Following is the concluding paragraph of the annual report of the General Council.

. . . During last May, a war between the United States and England seemed eminent. Your General Council, therefore, sent an address to Mr. Sylvis, the president of the American National Labour Union, calling on the United States' working class to command peace where their would-be masters shouted war. The sudden death of Mr. Sylvis, that valiant champion of our cause, will justify us in concluding this report, as an homage to his memory, by his reply to our letter:

Your favour of the twelfth instant, with address enclosed, reached me yesterday. I am very happy to receive such kindly words from our fellow-working men across the water: our cause is a common one. It is war between poverty and wealth: labour occupies the same low

condition, and capital is the same tyrant in all parts of the world. Therefore I say our cause is a common one. I, in behalf of the working people of the United States, extend to you, and through you to those you represent, and to all the down-trodden and oppressed sons and daughters of toil in Europe, the right hand of fellowship. Go a-head in the good work you have undertaken, until the most glorious success crowns your efforts. That is our determination. Our late war resulted in the building up of the most infamous monied aristocracy on the face of the earth. This monied power is fast eating up the substance of the people. We have made war upon it, and we mean to win. If we can, we will win through the ballot-box: if not, then we will resort to sterner means. A little blood-letting is sometimes necessary in desperate cases.

By order of the Council, R. APPLEGARTH, chairman
COWELL STEPNEY, treasurer
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, general secretary.

(c) THE DELEGATE TO BASLE

From editorial letters in *Workingman's Advocate*, Nov.-Dec., 1869, by A. C. Cameron, delegate to the congress of the International Workingmen's Association at Basle, 1869. Cameron, as a member of the National Labor Union, was a leading advocate of greenbackism and political action.

[November 6] . . . While the discussions and the subjects discussed in the Philadelphia congress assumed a widely different range from those entertained at the Basle Convention, the objects aimed at and the intention of the delegates of both bodies were identical, viz: the establishment of a true democracy – surrounding circumstances, customs, and the texture of society amply accounting for any apparent discrepancy. If the deliberations of the one body were, in some respects of a more advanced or radical hue than those embodied in the other, the grievances complained of are also of a different and more aggravated character. The wrongs which exist in one hemisphere, and of which the toiling masses so justly complain, were brought into being under far

different auspices from those which exist in the other; hence it is necessary to understand the nature of these circumstances before criticism on the action of either is worthy of more than a passing notice. One important fact, however, must not be forgotten – that while the institutions, and state of society prevailing in Europe are a legitimate offspring – the inevitable offshoot of despotism – in the other it is a perversion – a maladministration of the spirit of our institutions which has created the evils of which the American workman complains. In the one case a thorough re-construction is imperatively demanded; in the other a just administration of the fundamental principles upon which the government is founded alone is required.

Again, the American Congress demands the adoption of a just monetary system; the European convention that right to private property in land shall be abolished. Here certainly there is no conflict. In the Old World, a landed aristocracy monopolizes the soil – the heritage of the people – and the results are seen in the moral and social degradation of the agricultural laborers both in France and England – where the wages system is exhibited in its most deplorable light. In the New World, by destroying the overshadowing, unhallowed, blighting influence of the monied power, we destroy its ability to create the vassalage of which the teeming millions of Europe complain, so that by destroying the lesser evil, the greater evil is averted; though there is no doubt that, however revolutionary the demand referred to may appear to the American mind, in principle it is substantially correct. . . So with the question of Inheritance, a subject which also engrossed the attention of the Basle Convention. The law of entail and primogeniture – a relic of barbarism – which still exists in the countries of

the Old World, but from which we are happily exempt on this side of the Atlantic, taken in connection with the action had upon the land question, gives a force and plausibility to the resolutions of the convention, which would be somewhat out of place in an American assembly.

On the important topic of trades unions which, in our judgment, present the only feasible means by which the education, systematic organization and concerted political action of the masses may be secured – the English delegates were far in advance of their continental brethren. The plain, matter of fact statements of Messrs. Applegarth and Lessner, in relation to what had been accomplished through their agency in Great Britain, possessed a value far in advance of the theoretical schemes of many of the French and Italian delegates, and spoke volumes in favor of the prudence and sterling common sense of those who had controlled their action. . .

[November 27] . . . We now propose to refer briefly to the motives which guided us in declining to take any part in the discussion. While we fully recognized the force of the arguments, as presented from their stand-point, we, also realized that the same arguments could not and did not apply to the state of affairs existing in our own country; in fact, that individual enterprise and reward had been the great lever – the incentive, which had produced the results which had astonished and almost revolutionized the world; that the recognition of this principle was the corner stone – the foundation of our republican institutions. To illustrate: in Europe, the masses are denied the fruits of their labors. No matter how frugal or industrious they may be, a life of unrequited toil is their only reward. The "divine

right," with its attendant evils, are recognized in their theory of government, while their pernicious influences have impregnated all classes of society. In our own country no such state of society need exist. Our government is based upon a principle which recognizes the right of the individual, the rights of the whole people – as opposed to the claims of a pampered or privileged few. To the emigrant who seeks our shores, we say: "Welcome to a land, where, by thrift and honest toil, you can reap the rewards of your labor, and secure an independence for yourself and little ones." It is, we repeat, this inducement to individual exertion which has developed our resources and made our land an asylum for the oppressed throughout the world. To change it to the plan advocated would be to revolutionize the fundamental principles upon which our government was organized, and extinguish the last hope – entertained by the oppressed in the Old World – that some day they may find a welcome home in the land beyond the sea. . .

Again, the political privileges possessed by the American citizen places a correction of any threatened or existing evil within his reach. In France, the guillotine and barricade – with their attendant horrors – furnish too frequently the only means by which the pent-up fury of an outraged people can find expression. Here they are superseded by the ballot and the intelligence of the people. . .

But while we so write – and while we believe that our constituents endorse both our conduct and our sentiments, we do not desire to take exception to the action of the "international." On the contrary, we believe, were the working classes of America cursed by the same system and situation as their European brethren are,

their sentiments would be the same. As it is, we bid them "God speed" in their noble resolve, while we declare, with a determination that knows no denial, that not another acre of our public domain, shall be given to or stolen by any public or private corporation.

[December 11] . . . The next day is Saturday, the last of the session, and the questions of all questions in which the English delegates are interested, viz: popular education and trades' unions, are now before the convention. The report of the committee on the latter subject is crude and unsatisfactory. It is evident that no trades' unionist has had a hand in its framing. Few, if any of the arguments have the ring of the true metal; the testimony of experience is lacking. There is too much speculative theory, and too little common sense. Many of the speakers seem to doubt their necessity or efficiency, till their attention is riveted by the startling revelations of Caporusso, who with stentorian tones, and flashing eye, gives them the frightful statistics of his city—which he classifies as follows: Of a population of 600,000, there are 150,000 lazzaroni; speculators, 100,000; retailers and usurers, 150,000; and but 200,000 honest toilers to provide food, clothing and shelter for all, who have to work fifteen hours per day; and as many live on the outskirts of the city, they are engaged some eighteen or nineteen hours out of the twenty-four, to be able to prolong their miserable existence. In the government factories they are supervised by gendarmes, and treated like criminals. They have given up all hopes of a redress at the hands of the middle class. The erection of a republic would not aid them. It would only substitute one species of despotism for another. What they want is systematic organization, and that want trades' unions can alone supply them.

The impression made is evidently a favorable one for the trades' unionists; Hins of Brussels, and Flaheaut of Paris, endorse the views of the former speaker. There is no time to lose; the formation and combination of trades' unions is of the utmost importance. So long as no combination exists, nothing can be done; combined the working class can act socially and politically; without organization they must remain where they are, and trades' unions therefore are indispensable. Fruneau, Tolain and Durant of Paris, follow in opposition. They can not agree with Hins, that the future social state of mankind will be simply an aggregate of trades' unions; that humanity will only appear in the character of butchers, bakers, etc. There are other interests – human interests, which bind together and determine their social and political relations. . . But few if any practical views are uttered, until Applegarth of London, in a series of sound, common sense resolutions, presents the subject in its true light, referring to the causes which made them a necessity, the identity of the interests of labor, that such interests can only be secured by combination and interchange of sentiments, calling upon the various sections to take immediate steps for the formation of co-operative associations. These resolutions, he tells them, are based on a life of active experience amongst the English trades' unions, and not only treat the question from the point at which the unions started, but show how they can be extended internationally, and how they will be developed from the first form to a higher and better organization; and how their influence can be used for the extension of education. But notwithstanding this appeal, impatience is manifested, and the recommendation of the committee is carried by a show of hands.

By mutual consent the business of the convention now terminates, and the president calls on the American delegate to address the convention. After its delivery in English, its translation into French and German follows. It is well received by all present, especially the statement that the members of the National Labor Union have cut themselves aloof from both the political parties which have heretofore occupied such a prominent position. The mission and the sentiments are greeted in the spirit in which they were conceived – and the enthusiastic applause which follows their delivery tells its own tale.

Gracefully the president responds; and in the name of the toilers of Europe sends a greeting to their brethren across the sea; the loss of Mr. Sylvis is referred to in terms which show that his worth has been appreciated as much on this as on the other side of the Atlantic; the suggestion for the establishment of a Labor Bureau is endorsed, and the appointment of a delegate to Cincinnati assured. . .

[December 18] . . . Perhaps, where all have done so well, and when the object of our mission is considered, it may be deemed invidious to refer to any class or nationality, in other than terms of the highest praise; nor yet is it our intention to do so; candor, however, compels the admission that England has furnished the ablest and most practical body of men in the Congress, although Eccarius and Lessner are Germans, and Jung a Swiss. The German delegates, prominent among whom have been Liebknecht of Vienna, Rittinghausen of Solingen, and Hess of Berlin, besides a score of others, from various sections of the continent, seemed to our entire satisfaction, to steer clear of the more ultra views, and allowed their reason, rather than their passion, to con-

trol their judgment; and we may as well say so as think so, that it is just in such a class of men that we "take stock;" our sympathies have invariably been with them. We trust, however, our readers will not suppose from these remarks, that we admire the less the lion-hearted heroism of those men who, of a more impulsive nature, and raised under different circumstances, have occupied a somewhat ultra position. By no means. We honor and appreciate them all. Desperate cases require desperate remedies, and we are well aware, that when the bayonet is the only argument, and the aspiration for liberty is followed by incarceration in a felon's cell, that argument, or an appeal to justice, seems entirely out of place. But fortunately, in our own country, we have not yet reached that depth, and God grant we never may – and this probably accounts for our partiality.

[December 25] As many of our readers know, steps have recently been taken by the International Workingmen's Association, at the earnest request of the American delegate to the late European Congress, to establish an Emigration Bureau, through which a supervision shall be jointly exercised by the American and European associations, over the emigration, which is constantly flowing to our country. . . .

Ever since the completion of the Atlantic telegraph, it has been the threat of unprincipled employers, in every state where an unpleasantness has occurred, to threaten the importation of foreign workmen; to use their expression, "Well, there is one thing we can do; if our men do not see fit to accept our terms, we can telegraph for those who will;" and in many instances they have been enabled to put their threats into execution. . .

It is needless to state that it is not contemplated in the

most remote degree to interfere with what is known as legitimate emigration. No rational being objects or can object, to the workman of the old world leaving its overcrowded marts, and seeking to better his condition in our own land. In fact, experience has proven that the truest friend the emigrant finds in his new home is his fellow-craftsman; but there is as much difference between the advent of an emigrant who comes to strengthen our hands, and the importation of a class of men who are brought to thwart the legitimate claims of our mechanics, to pauperize labor and flood the market, as there is between an angel of darkness and an angel of light. . . During the past summer the public were lashed into a furore over what they were pleased to term – the exorbitant demands of the miners in the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania, while the facts of the case were, that few if any of them were receiving two dollars and fifty cents per day. The report of the "Committee on Mining" disclosed this important fact, at the National Labor Congress. The report was extensively copied, and the odium which had heretofore unjustly rested on the miners, in a great measure removed. Thereby the blame was placed where it rightfully belonged – on the conscienceless knaves who alone are responsible for the uncalled for rise of prices. But no sooner was their little game blocked, and the truth made known; no sooner was it discovered that they could no longer ply their vocation with impunity, than a movement was set on foot to secure, by misrepresentation, the services of Scotch and English miners. Consequently the most outrageous falsehoods were circulated and the most exaggerated inducements held out to those ignorant of the true state of affairs. On landing in Liverpool, we found the dock placarded with advertisements for min-

ers, in the very regions where from twelve thousand to fifteen thousand men were out of employment, contending for an honest day's wages for an honest day's work, which contained the most false and shameless statements—yet, statements which, no doubt, succeeded in duping many an honest, unsuspecting miner, who would sooner have cut off his right arm than defraud his brother of his dues. Now, under the system proposed, no such wrong can be perpetrated, no such deception succeed. Where a legitimate demand exists, the truth will be made known; when the "crushing" process is attempted, the fact can be as easily understood on the other as on this side of the Atlantic.

Under proper management, branches of the emigration bureau can be established in every city in Europe where the authority or influence of the "International" is recognized, and our own people placed in direct communication with its officials. We shall look with much interest to the action of the Cincinnati Congress, believing that it will give its cordial sanction to the movement, and perfect a plan by which it can be carried into practical operation.

2. THE INTERNATIONAL IN AMERICA

[The General Council, or executive committee, of the International Workingmen's Association, of which Karl Marx was the leading character and J. George Eccarius the corresponding secretary for America, was located at London. Monthly reports were made to this General Council by the several branches in different countries, each of which was known as a National Federation. The North American Federation was organized at New York in 1871, and its first report was forwarded in April of that year. Following are extracts from the copy-book in manuscript, giving so much of these monthly reports as relate to the efforts to internationalize the American movement. The writer is F. A. Sorge, corresponding secretary, a German music-master who had lived in America since 1852. Sorge was a delegate to the congresses of the National Labor Union in 1868, 1869, and 1870, and secured the adoption of his resolutions for affiliation with the International. He represented Labor Union, No. 5, of New York, composed of German working men. This union was an outgrowth of a Lassallean organization, which in 1868 became the Social Party of New York. After the Congress of the National Labor Union in 1870, it withdrew from that body and became in 1871, Section No. 1 of the North American Federation of the International. As soon as it was organized the federation addressed the circular of May 21, 1871, to the trades' unions of America, inviting their affiliation.

[From December, 1871, until after the Congress at

The Hague in September, 1872, the central committee was occupied with internal dissensions. These grew out of the admission of Section 12, dominated by Victoria Woodhull and Tennessee Claflin, publishers of *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly*, who were charged with introducing issues foreign to the labor question, such as woman's suffrage, free love, universal language, etc. A split occurred, and both factions appealed to the Congress at The Hague for recognition. Sorge's faction adopted a resolution that no section would be admitted which did not consist of at least three-fourths wage-laborers. His faction was recognized at The Hague, and was made, in fact, the new General Council for the purpose of transferring the headquarters of the International from London to New York.

[After the Congress of The Hague, Sorge became the corresponding secretary of the General Council of the International, and Bolte the secretary of the American committee. The latter made the appeal of January 29, 1873, to the Workingmen's Assembly of the State of New York. At the same time the General Council made its last attempt to organize on an international basis, this time confined to each separate trade. This change in policy had been adopted at The Hague and the plan was approved at the Congress at Geneva, 1873. It is given below in the form adopted by the carpenters of Liege, Belgium, and the German carpenters of New York.

[Failing in these attempts the effort was made to nationalize the International in the form of the United Workers of America, 1874, and afterward in the International Labor Union of America, 1878. The latter organization included Ira Steward and the Eight-Hour leaders.]

(a) CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE NORTH AMERICAN FEDERATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION

Copy Book of above committee, April 2, 1871, pp. 1-4. Original manuscript preserved at the University of Wisconsin.

TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL. Report of the N.A. Central Committee of the I.W.A. The Sections represented in this C.C. have been enumerated as follows:

General German Workingmen's Society (Labor Union No 5)	Section No. 1.
French Section of the I. W. A. at New York	" " 2.
Czechian [i.e., Bohemian] Workingmen's Society	" " 3.
German Social political Workingmen's Society No. 1 at Chicago	" " 4.
" " " " " " 2 " "	" " 5.
" " Democratic " " " at New York	" " 6.
Irish Section of the I. W. A.	" " " " " 7.
German Social Democratic Society at Williamsburgh (N.Y.)	" " 8.

Section No. 1 is active in the N.Y. Arbeiter Union, the central delegation of the N.Y. German Trades Unions, and pushing the foundation of a new Workingmen's Weekly in the German language.

Section 2 have adopted a new constitution and plan of working and have nominated a Committee on Emigration.

Section 3 is gaining influence on their countrymen and the papers appearing in their language, discussed Cooperation pretty lively.

Sections 4 and 5 are discussing the present situation, counteracting the influence and emanations of the German Chauvinistic press in Chicago.

Section 6 is doing good work especially among the German cabinet makers and carvers in the city of N.Y.

Section 7 is increasing rapidly and trying (effectually) to gain influence in the new combination of Irish Revolutionary Societies in the United States (Irish Confederation).

Section 8 is actively engaged in propagating our prin-

ciples amongst the numerous workingmen of a thickly populated suburb of the city of N.Y. Section I has fifty members in good standing, II, fifty-five, III, twenty-eight, IV and V, seventy, VI, fifty, VII, twenty-six, VIII not given.

The affiliation of a new Section (8) in Williamsburgh, a suburb of this city, has been mentioned in the above report. According to the last news a reorganization of the German Section in San Francisco is taking place.

Sections I and VI are holding joint meetings once every month, discussing questions of principle opened by a lecture of one of their respective members. The third lecture was given by R. Starke (of I) on the time and hours of labor, the fourth by Edw. Grosse (of VI) on Organization and Agitation.

A circular letter to all the Workingmen's Societies, Trades Unions, etc., of this country will be adopted and soon be published.

The momentous [struggle?] between the Miners and Workingmen's Benevolent Association of Pennsylvania and the combined capitalists, owners of railroads, canals, mines, etc. is occupying the earnest attention of the C.C. who have tried with some success to influence the action of the N.Y. Workingmen's Union and Arbeiter Union with regard to it. An address of sympathy has been sent to the M. and W.B.A. and to the released Austrian Workingmen prisoners.

The establishment of a German *Workingmen's Weekly* has made some progress, but its appearance may not be expected before some months. The "Arbeiter Union" is taking steps towards holding a great workingmen's festival, probably for the benefit of the before mentioned *Weekly*, and for the furthering of this purpose has entered into communications with this C.C.

A very lively debate is going on in the Workingmen's Union about Coöperation and Coöperative Societies. The Constitution of the W.U. containing the phrase, "that the interests of capital and labor are identical," it was lately boldly charged and proved, that this is a fallacy and a special committee reported unanimously that the W.U. should be composed of delegates representing labor, not capital.

The National Labor Union is losing ground amongst the great National and International Trades Unions of this country: the Workingmen's Assembly of New York (Presdt: Wm. J. Jessup), the Cigarmakers' International Union, the Bricklayers' National Union etc. all refusing at their last conventions to appoint delegates to the next Labor Congress in St. Louis.

The Workingmen's Assembly of the State of New York was lately held in Albany. Its principal work was the devising of measures to gain influence on the legislation of this state. An Apprentice Law and laws against the use of old barrels, for a thorough examination of steamboiler engineers, against contract work in the prisons, for the establishment of a Statistical Labor Bureau, against the working of children in factories, for the better protection of life and limbs, etc., were submitted. It was resolved: "That a coöperative enterprise be defined as one in which the stockholder has but one vote each and the profits are divided between capital and labor engaged in the enterprise." (10) Ten cents annually per member were levied for the expenses of the W.A. The president's office was made salaried with eight hundred dollars per annum and Wm. J. Jessup reëlected president. A resolution was also passed approving and endorsing the principles of the I.W.A. concluding: "Workingmen of all countries, unite!" Courts

of arbitration were recommended, as also mutual assistance in case of strikes.

The organization of a Political Labor Party in the recent election in New Hampshire has overthrown the "republican" ascendancy there and great fears are entertained in the circles of the ruling party and classes.

The German Chauvinists trying to celebrate a great triumphal festival on Easter-Monday, we intend to arrange a counter-demonstration on the same day.

The Bricklayers N.U. wishes to have the addresses of their sister trades organizations (masons, bricklayers, etc.) in England and on the Continent. Please to transmit some.

The regular dues of two hundred and ninety-three enrolled members for 1871 are hereby transmitted, also the amount due for "Reports of the Congress at Basle," all in a bill of exchange in favor of Karl Marx. Receipt is requested.

Regular correspondence from the General Council is solicited.

The North American Central Committee of the International Workingmen's Association. By order

F. A. SORGE, Corr. Sec.

New York, April 2nd, 1871, Box 101, Hoboken, N.J., via New York.

P.S. An American Section has been formed and a delegate sent. Answer was received from the miners.

F. A. S.

Copy Book, 8-10. This was the first appeal to American Trade Unions.

10th Ward Hotel, cor. Broome and Forsyth Str., New York City, May 21st, 1871. To all Trades Unions and Labor Societies of North America.

FELLOW WORKINGMEN! We take pleasure in notifying you that several Labor-societies of the United States, affiliated with the International Workingmen's Associa-

tion, have formed the North American Central Committee of the I.W.A. by electing one delegate for each section to this body now meeting every 1st and 3rd Sunday of each month in New York City at the Tenth Ward Hotel, cor. Broome and Forsyth Str., at 5 o'clock p.m.

The following Sections are at present represented in this central committee:

Section 1. General German Workingmen's Society (Labor Union No. 5) New York City.
" 2. French Section No. 1 of the I.W.A. (down town) " " "
" 3. Czechian Workingmen's Society " " "
" 4. Social-Political Workingmen's Society No. 1, Chicago, Ill.
" 5. " " " " " II, " "
" 6. Social Democratic " " New York City.
" 7. Irish Section of the I.W.A. " " "
" 8. Social Democratic Society Williamsburgh, N.Y.
" 9. American (native) Section of the I.W.A. New York City.
" 10. French Section No. II of the I.W.A. (up town) New " "

The I.W.A. has spread over the entire civilized world and is planting its roots among the working classes of all countries, where modern industry reigns (England, Germany, France, Belgium, Austria, Switzerland, Spain, Italy, Russia, Holland, United States, etc.). Its central body or board of administration, the General Council of the I.W.A., is sitting at London and in its last official communication of March 14th distinctly recognizes and acknowledges the organization of the undersigned C.C. and "expresses its satisfaction with our activity." Every Trades Union or Labor Society of this country may affiliate with this Central Committee of the I.W.A. by acknowledging and defending the principles and rules of the I.W.A. and remitting an annual due of two cents per member for the General Council and five cents per member for this Central Committee to the undersigned and also electing a delegate.

The principles of the I.W.A. may be condensed in the following extracts from its rules:

The emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves.

The struggle for the emancipation of the working classes means not a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties and the abolition of all class rule.

The economical subjection of the man of labor to the monopolizer of the means of labor, that is the sources of life, lies at the bottom of servitude in all its forms, of all social misery, mental degradation and political dependence;

The economical emancipation of the working classes is therefore the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means.

All efforts aiming at that great end have hitherto failed from the want of solidarity between the manifold divisions of labor in each country and from the absence of a fraternal bond of union between the working classes of different countries. The emancipation of labor is neither a local, nor a national, but a social problem embracing all countries, in which modern society exists and depending for its solution on the concurrence, practical and theoretical, of the most advanced countries.

The National Labor Congress at Cincinnati, August, 1870, and the N.Y. State Workingmen's Assembly, January, 1871, both passed resolutions acknowledging and recommending the principles of the I.W.A.

FELLOW-WORKINGMEN! This Central Committee is in duty bound to make every effort for uniting the working classes of this country and to collect everything tending to enlighten them on their own condition. Recognizing this, as you surely will, also as an important duty of yours, you are hereby solicited to enter into communications with us and to report to us everything at your disposal referring to the condition of your trade and associates as well as in general of workingmen in your district. We are willing and ready to reciprocate with all due care and dispatch.

A full and clear knowledge of the interests of our class will, we are satisfied, soon influence you in declaring

your affiliation to that fraternal union of the laborers of all countries destined to break the yoke, under which the working classes languish – the wages-slavery.

Workingmen of all countries, unite! Fraternal greeting. The North American Central Committee of the International Workingmen's Association.

THEODORE H. BANKS, CONRAD CARL, JOHN DEVOY, EDW. GROSSE, B. HUBERT, VILEM JANTUS, L. RUPPELL, F. A. SORGE, RUD. STARKE, —— WEISS.

All communications to be directed to

F. A. SORGE, Corr. Secr.

Box 101, Hoboken, N.J.

Copy Book, May 21, 1871, pp. 12-16.

TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL, LONDON. . . The great struggle of the Pennsylvania miners is ended by a pretty general resumption of work in the mining districts, mostly at somewhat advanced prices. And the great aim of the combined capitalists, the destruction of the Miners' and Laborers' Benevolent Association, has not been attained, the Association standing as powerful and influential as ever. Their General Council answered our address at some length insisting on the importance of their fight for all Trades and Labor Unions. John Siney, a prominent leader of the miners, lately addressed a public meeting of Workingmen in New York City, giving a clear and full exposé of the organization and workings of the M. and L. B. A. The monopolists and their press have succeeded in creating a riot in one of the mining towns, when two union members lost their life. That seed will grow and bear appropriate fruits in time. . .

Your communication dated March 14th, mailed April 3rd is at hand. We shall act according to the instructions therein contained, but cannot omit to make some

remarks regarding the attitude of the General Council towards our organization and our alleged assumption of the name of Central Committee, hoping thereby to disperse some erroneous views about our American organization.

I. Your communication contains the following passage: "Still less seemed such a claim admissible in a case, where, as in the U.S., no branches of U.S. workmen do yet at all exist, but only branches formed by Foreigners residing in the U.S." The term "foreigner" is here undoubtedly misplaced and adopted simply by judging our situation in America (i.e., U.S.) to be similar to the situation of foreign workingmen in European countries. But this is not the case for many reasons, amongst which: (a) Workingmen from other countries arriving here do not come with the intention of residing but temporarily here; (b) They are in nowise regarded as foreigners or simple residents, but as citizens, the only distinction being made by calling them sometimes adopted citizens; (c) They not only claim to be, but are *de facto et de jure* citizens of this country in full and unabridged political right; (d) They form an important and considerable part of this country's Trades Unions and Labor Societies, being well represented in every one, whilst some of the most powerful and best trades organizations in the U.S. consist almost exclusively of so-called "Foreigners," viz. the Miners' and Laborers' Benevolent Association, the Cigarmakers' International Union, the Cabinetmakers' Societies, the Crispins, etc. The term "foreigner" therefore does not apply to us at all. . .

Copy Book, June 20, 1871, pp. 26, 27.

TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL. . . The old political parties in this country, the so-called Democratic Party leading, are fast taking up and accepting the most im-

portant parts of the platform of the National Labor Union, and the question now arises: if there are sound elements enough in that organization able and willing to resurrect it and make it a genuine Workingmen's Party with a true and distinct Labor Program. . . The Typographical National Union lately held their annual congress in Baltimore and refused to appoint Delegates to the National Labor Congress. . .

Copy Book, Aug. 20, 1871, pp. 39-44. The International did not hold a regular congress in 1871, but substituted the Conference of Delegates, to which the following was addressed.

Since the close of the Civil War in the United States the industrial development has delivered more and more decidedly the production to the hands of Capital, i.e., to the appropriators of the accumulated means and fruit of labor. In proof of this we only point to the state of labor in the New England States (vide Statistical Report of Bureau of Labor in Massachusetts), Pennsylvania, California and New York. The capitalistic production grows rapidly, but unfortunately the consciousness of the workingman of his own class-condition does not keep step with it.

We are sorry to state that the workingmen in general, even in spite of the industrial development—are quite unconscious of their own position towards capital and slow to show battle against their oppressors for the following reasons:

I. The great majority of workingmen in the Northern States are Immigrants from Ireland, Germany, England, etc. (in California coolies, imported under contract) having left their native countries for the purpose of seeking here that wealth they could not obtain at home. This delusion transforms itself into a sort of creed, and employers and capitalists, parvenus having

gained their wealth in a former period, take great care in preserving this self-deception among their employees, and so the German, the Irish and every other laborer works on in the belief of finally arriving at the desired goal, until time and experience show its utter vanity, the capitalists themselves rendering its realization more and more impossible. This visionary idea has been the cornerstone in founding the trades-unions – in this country at least – whilst now it is the stumbling block over which they fall and perish. Nevertheless a great number of workingmen cannot part with this, their favorite idea, because their mind is constantly confused and troubled by another medium:

II. THE REFORM PARTIES. The so-called Reform Parties are growing up in the United States over night and for every one disappearing there are two others anxious and ready to step in its track. These parties assert, that the emancipation of labor or rather the welfare of mankind can be obtained peacefully and easily by universal suffrage, glittering educational measures, benevolent and homestead societies, universal language and other schemes and systems nicely put up in their innumerable meetings and carried out by nobody. The leading men of said parties, mostly men of science and philanthropists perceive the rottenness of the governing classes as far as relating to their own ideas of morality, but they see only the surface of the question of labor and accordingly all their humanitarian advices do not touch but the exterior of it. Such a reform movement well advocated and intelligibly presented to the workingmen is often gladly accepted, because the laborer wants to ameliorate his position and does not perceive the hollowness of that gilded nut shining before his eyes. The daily press does not fail to point out the ridiculous parts

of those propositions, to shake them well up with the labor question and to present that so prepared stuff and surrogate as a new gospel to their readers.

III. The third obstacle is and has been the wrong guidance of the labor movement itself. A number of the so-called leaders have been actuated by ambition or other selfish motives, whilst another number was honest and true but failed to take the right steps and began to reform, all reforms finally taking their abode in one of the political parties of the ruling class, the burgeois. The best proof of this is given in the platform as passed by the first National Labor Congress at Baltimore, 1866, compared with the platform passed in Cincinnati and St. Louis, 1870 and 1871. Here is a synopsis of both:

1866 – RESOLVED: 1. That eight hours shall constitute a legal day's work; 2. That it is the imperative duty of every workingman to connect himself with his trade organization, if any exists; and where none exists, to immediately commence the formation of the same; 3. That in coöperation we recognize a sure and lasting remedy[?] for the abuses of the present industrial system; 4. That the system of prison labor as practiced throughout this country is not only injurious to the producing classes etc.; 5. That we pledge our individual and undivided support to the sewing women and daughters of toil in this land; 6. With regard to agricultural interests and production of cotton in the Southern States, etc.; 7. In regard to tenement houses, etc.; 8. That the whole public domain shall be disposed of only to actual settlers; 9. That this congress deprecate what is familiarly known as strikes among workingmen, etc.

1870 and 1871 – RESOLVED, a. That laborers in all departments of useful industry are suffering from a system of monetary laws perpetuated in the interest of

bondholders and bankers; b. That the rates of interest on money are excessive and oppressive to the producing classes; c. That the national banking system is without warrant in the constitution of the United States . . . justice demands its repeal; d. That to provide a true national currency . . . etc.; e. That the payment of interest in gold is dishonest, etc.; f. That justice demands that the burdens of the government should be so adjusted as to bear equally on all classes; g. That Congress should so modify the tariff, etc.; h. That the treaty-making power of the government has no power in the constitution to dispose of the public lands without the joint sanction of the Senate and the House of Representatives, etc.

The first one (1866) endeavors to favor the workingmen; in the latter, 1870 and 1871, the main question is the money-system of the United States, a question brought up by both parties of the ruling class, whenever an election is impending.

In the preceding are given the principal difficulties to be overcome, the real causes of the poor condition of the Trades Unions – especially the German ones – perhaps leading to their entire destruction.

About the sections composing our Central Committee we have to report that they endeavor to work constantly and earnestly in the cause of labor. It has been the greatest care of the C.C. to keep the Sections clear of all political jobbers, also to inform the workingmen of their true interests. If the result has not yet been an entire success, it is not the fault of this C.C. We have made great efforts for inducing the Irish Workingmen of this country to join the I.W.A., but religious and political prejudices and above all – their leaders have to this day withstood all our efforts. A true and honest

Irish Revolutionist writes of "the wearying and very discouraging work" among the different Irish societies, which are all led by knaves "or their tools," etc. Still we do not give it up and hope yet to gain a firm foothold amongst the Irish. Since the formation of the C.C. some new sections have been reformed in other parts of the U.S., for instance, in St. Louis, New Orleans, San Francisco – and another one will probably be formed in Philadelphia.

After the sublime struggle of the Commune in Paris the more intelligent workingmen have turned their eyes more eagerly towards the I.W.A. This approach may become very important for the Association. But, if this C.C. shall not lose all advantages springing therefrom the C.C. ought to have the undivided, unequivocal, full support of the General Council for the following reasons:

It is well known here that the Central Executive of the I.W.A. is established at London and everything emanating from there is considered as very important. Furthermore the daily press has unintentionally glorified the General Council so much that their (the G.C.'s) moral influence is highly increased. If the Central Committee shall be enabled to use this moral influence in favor of the cause of labor – the General Council must show more confidence and give more ready support to the Central Committee than heretofore.

This C.C. is predominantly composed of wages laborers who, working in workshops and being trades-unionists, know the condition of the workingmen, we believe, as well, if not better, than men who never have been active producers, or men who are not connected with either trades unions nor workingmen generally. Nevertheless it appears to us that the General Council paid more at-

tention till now to those scribblers than to the Central Committee.

The revolutionary proletariat here will probably for some time to come not be directly attacked by the ruling classes and this time of tranquillity, wisely used, may become of great importance not only to us here but to the I.W.A. in general. To take hold of this advantage for the purpose of strengthening the I.W.A. in this country, we repeat here, a lively, confident, frank intercourse between the General Council and this Central Committee is necessary. Fraternal Greeting

The North American Central Committee of the I.W.A.
New York, August 20th, 1871.

THEODORE H. BANKS, FR. BOLTE, CONRAD CARL, D. DEBUCHY, JOHN DEVOY, F. FILLY, E. GROSSE, B. HUBERT, TH. MILLOT AINÉ, L. RUPPEL, R. STARKE, GEO. STIEBELING, TH. WEISS, WM. WEST.

by order F. A. SORGE, Corr. Secr.
Box 101, Hoboken, N.J., via New York.

Copy Book, Sept. 3, 1871, pp. 47, 48.

TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL. . . The National Labor Union held its annual congress at St. Louis August 7th-10th. On the first day not a sufficient number of delegates was present to transact business, whilst toward the close of the congress about twenty delegates were voting. (The Congress at Cincinnati last year yet numbered more than one hundred bona fide delegates.) They simply reaffirmed their former platform with this only addition: "that capital invested in railroads, telegraphs, etc., should not earn more than six per cent interest." The leaders of the N.L.U. have learned nothing and, it is to be feared, will never learn to understand the labor question. All the great trades organizations having withdrawn previously with the single ex-

ception of the miners, the Congress can hardly be called a Workingmen's Convention. . . We will not omit to state, that they were very careful and anxiously trying not to mention the word "Commune" in their proceedings. They adjourned to meet next year (?) still farther off the industrial districts, at Nashville, Tennessee. . .

Copy Book, Oct. 1, 1871, pp. 60-64.

TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL. . . An event perhaps marking a new era and a new departure in the labor movement was the great eight hours demonstration of Sept. 13th, in New York City, already announced in our last report. It had been raining the entire morning and the streets were in a deplorable state, but the New York Trades Unions turned out and carried the day. About twenty thousand workingmen were in line and everything passed off well. The mass-meeting at night was crowded, the speakers all from labor's ranks, and the resolutions significant in their threatening tone to the authorities, and in their conclusion recommending in a somewhat covert manner the expropriation and exploitation for the peoples benefit of all mines, means of transportation and communication, etc. Our resident sections taking part in the procession they were the object of great curiosity and marked attention, and shouts of "Vive la Commune" often greeted them. But especially cordial was the reception of the Internationals by the Trades-Unionists at the final countermarch of the procession and deafening cheers greeted the appearance of their banner (the red flag) on the stage at the mass-meeting. Equally significant was the participation of colored (negro) organizations for the first time in a demonstration got up by the English speaking unions (the German Unions having treated them as equals

already years ago). Altogether the effect of this brilliant demonstration is not to be underrated. A new start has been given to the labor movement and is being felt all over the country. The bonds of brotherhood between the different trades unions and labor societies have been fastened. The I.W.A. appearing for the first time on the scene within the ranks of the trades unionists thereby gained largely in esteem and soon will probably gain in members. And last, but not least, a permanent all-combining organization of the N.Y. workmen will in all probability spring from it and spread even farther. Our sections had prepared for the occasion an extract from K. Marx' *Das Kapital*, translated it into English, printed and distributed it in thousands of copies, which were very well received. A copy is enclosed. . .

The intention of politicians and others is now pretty clear: to identify the I.W.A. in this country with the woman suffrage, free love and other movements and we will have to struggle hard for clearing ourselves from these imputations.

Copy Book, Nov. 5, 1871, pp. 70-72.

TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL, LONDON. . . Out of the great and very promising eight hours convention of this city has grown a local political movement. But the masses of the N.Y. City workmen are not yet willing to introduce politics into their trades societies, and no organization of the working classes is behind the political movement, which therefore must prove futile and unsuccessful – a result much to be deplored because it will make a number of honest true workingmen indifferent for future action. Not underrating the value of political action, especially as a means of agitation, we maintain that an extended and somewhat perfected or-

ganization must precede any political movement of the working classes.

The Labor Reform Party in the coal mining districts of Pennsylvania were defeated in the late election, though drawing great force from that powerful Miners' and Laborers' Benevolent Association numbering over thirty thousand members in about five counties. Their leaders and organs ascribe their defeat to the rumor and popular belief of their understanding and agreement with the "International" and the Paris Commune; and for the purpose of protecting themselves against this terrible accusation their General Council lately passed a resolution disclaiming all connection with the I.W.A. and the "Commune" and asserting their belief in the omnipotence of the ballot. In Massachusetts the Labor Party is also at work but somewhat differently. Their platform maintains primarily: "That Labor, the creator of wealth, is entitled to all it creates" – and therefore declares "War to the wages system." Some of the speeches made there redound with praises of the I.W.A. and the "Commune." . .

Copy Book, Dec. 17, 1871, pp. 77-84.

To the General Council, London. . . In the coal districts of Pennsylvania the National Labor Union is still defending itself against the terrible accusation of being affiliated or somehow connected with the I.W.A. and the "Commune." Provision has also been made for organizing secretly the so-called labor unions (local societies) affiliating with the National Labor Union. . . A third Irish section has been formed in N.Y. City, a French one in Paterson and one ditto in Philadelphia, a Scandinavian section in Chicago, an English speaking section in San Francisco, a second German section in Philadelphia and a third German one in Chicago.

More sections are about to be formed in several other places. . .

Copy Book, pp. 156-159.

New York, 10 Ward Hotel, January 29th, 1873.

To the Officers and Members of the Workingmen's Assembly of the State of New York.

FELLOW WORKINGMEN: On the 19th of May, 1872, an appeal was issued to the Workingmen of America, explaining the aims and principles of the International Workingmen's Association and warning our colaborers against certain parties of political reformers intruding themselves into the ranks of labor either for selfish purposes or for advancing some hobbies of their own by the aid of the working people.

Since that time the press of this country – aimed[?] and subsidized by capital – did its best to poison the mind of the working man against the Internationals and their doings. Every movement, political or not, connected with the great cause of labor or not, was made use of by these manufacturers of public opinion to ridicule the I.W.A. by calling Internationals all those individuals, who arrogantly and impudently use the name of the association of international workingmen without having the slightest idea of its principles and aims. For this reason the I.W.A. is so frequently misunderstood and its aims misconstrued amongst workingmen especially when the[y] know the I.W.A. only by hearsay.

Now, who are the internationals and what are their aims? [illegible in manuscript] The emancipation of labour is [illegible] workingmen themselves.

That is: the lifting up of the workingman from that low position he now occupies in a society which guarantees all the benefits of labor to the employer and nothing to the producer – in a society where freedom and

comfort is secured only to the rich, whilst the poor have to choose between starvation or selling their working power for a price fixed by the employer; that is: the elevation of the oppressed to a position where equal rights and duties are enjoyed by every human being.

All Workingmen, who believe that their aim can [be] attained by a combination of the men of labor not only of one country, but of all countries are Internationals and their organization is the I.W.A.

The different trades unions are aiming at the same end – the elevation of the working classes – by claiming a fair remuneration for a fair day's work and thus making a fair step toward the final emancipation of labor by abolishing wages at last and substituting associative labor for private enterprise.

The growth of capitalistic association and monetary institutions has placed the working class in a position worthy to be remembered.

When the great war broke out, by which slavery in the South was abolished, all the coin and specie of our wealthy people disappeared suddenly and the U.S. Government was obliged to contract immense debts in form of the so called U.S. bonds. No sooner had these bonds appeared, when the hidden treasures came forth again, and the bonds went into the hands of our honest appropriators, who used a small part of the profits of this fat job towards bringing substitutes, i.e., men exposing themselves to the bullet of the enemy for a little blood money. When the war was ended through the exertion of our brave fellow working men soldiers, they returned to their homes only to be worked harder than ever for paying the interest of those bonds to the very men who had doubled their fortunes by nice bond-speculations without ever risking the loss of a farthing nor the afflic-

tion of a scratch in that momentous struggle of the nation. In short the working men had to perform the double mission of fighting and offering their lives for a government composed of bondholders and their friends, and at the end of the struggle, of paying the debts contracted for the benefit of the wealthy. And thus it stands today.

Now, fellow workingmen, how long will you endure this miserable position of working for a poor living and enriching the employers, your masters? No change of it can be effected as long as we are not united.

False prophets will tell you: every workingman must become independent, a capitalist himself, and then the struggle will cease. A complete absurdity!

Suppose the whole mass of labourers becoming capitalists, who would perform the necessary work for preserving the society? Some other Reformers – would-be workingmen or their professed friends are preaching universal freedom, free love, universal suffrage and more such universalities. These men too are false reformers and frequently in the service of the capitalists. And even when they are not in the direct pay of the monopolists, the capitalistic press will and does use their shallow phrases to ridicule our great and just cause. They cannot be our men!

We have protested already, we protest again against the saddling of the I.W.A. with all the nonsense, humbug and laughing stock issued and issuing from false friends of the I.W.A. especially from a body misnaming itself the Federal Council of the I.W.A. and meeting formerly in Prince Str. presently in Spring Str., N.Y. We earnestly warn all workingmen affiliating with them. Fellow workingmen! Throw off all those hobbies, which bogus reformers and small political quacks are only too ready to impose upon you, let our watch word

be: Workingmen of all countries unite! and once united we will be near the accomplishment of our great aim: The Emancipation of labor.

By ord. of the Federal Council I.W.A. fraternal greetings, F. BOLTE, Gnrl. Sy.

(b) AN INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION

Sorge Ms., 84-86 [translation from the German].
The manuscript of F. A. Sorge, at the University of Wisconsin, consists of copies of the correspondence of the General Council with the several branches after its transfer from London to New York.

GENERAL COUNCIL of the I.W.A. to the "United Carpenters" of New York.

The Gen. C. ordered me to transmit to you the following communication: In the beginning of April of this year the "United Carpenters" of Liège declared their approval of the plan for International Trade Unions as proposed by the G. C. [general council]. At the same time they asked for addresses of trade-unions. On April 18 the G.C. wrote to them that a convention of carpenters of this country was going to take place in June, and furnished them with the address of the United Carpenters of New York. On the 6th of June the G.C. received a reply in the form of a circular letter setting forth a provisional constitution together with a communication that the contemplated congress of the United Carpenters at Brussels is postponed from August to September "in order to wait for the delegates from the U.S." An exchange of communications is facilitated, which will help to make the position clear. The following is a translation of the Federal Constitution, as it was provisionally accepted at Liège on April 20th and 28th.

ARTICLE 1. A general federation of carpenters and cabinetmakers is formed [menuisiers et charpentiers].

ARTICLE 2. Each affiliating society is obliged to be

democratic and socialistic [*demokratisch u. socialistisch, democratique et sociale*].

ARTICLE 3. The federation has as its aim the betterment of the position of the carpenters and cabinetmakers. It holds as its duty to make active propaganda in the sense of article 2.

ARTICLE 4. The Federation holds annual congresses and decides on a center for correspondence. It decides about extraordinary congresses.

ARTICLE 5. The congresses should be held alternatively in different localities where the interests of labor are most taken to heart.

ARTICLE 6. Before the adjournment of each congress the place of meeting of the next congress should be decided upon. Each section pays the expenses of its delegate.

ARTICLE 7. Each union has a right to one delegate and one vote in the national congresses. In the international congresses each country has one vote. Resolutions are adopted with a plain majority of votes.

ARTICLE 8. Each union elects from its midst a corresponding secretary, who is obliged to communicate to the center every three months about the situation of his union and about everything pertaining to the federation.

ARTICLE 9. The treasuries of the affiliated unions remain independent.

ARTICLE 10. Each affiliated union obligates itself by adopting the present constitution to hinder its members from taking the jobs of comrades, who are engaged in a struggle of any kind – as well as to encourage by all means the feeling of solidarity among carpenters and cabinetmakers.

ARTICLE 11. Each member who is in good standing

with any affiliated society, is by virtue of that a member of every other affiliated society in every place wherever he may go. The address of the Liège carpenters is: A. D. Brouet, impasse Bidaut No. 14, Liege, Belgium.

With brotherly greetings by order of the G. C.

New York, June 6, 1873. F. A. SORGE, Gen. Secr.

Sorge Ms., Aug. 11, 1873, pp. 118, 123.

REPORT OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL to the Congress at Geneva, 1873. . . The G.C. having been charged with the special mission to establish the International Trades Unions, we have issued a plan, sent it to the different countries and had it reproduced in different organs of the I.W.A. Answers were received from the "united cabinet makers" of Liège Belgium, who sent in their adhesion to the plan, and from the "united cabinet-makers of New York to the same purpose. A congress of all workmen in the manufacture of furniture lately held at Cincinnati (here) organized a union of their trades, created a central body (for the current year, New York) and directed their executive to establish intimate relations with the organized workingmen's central bodies of all countries. . . The German trades-unions are nearly all organized on a true international basis, but not very strong yet and prevented by law from operating outside of the empire's frontier. . . In our opinion the plan of International Trades Unions is not yet mature for final decision and congress should recommend renewed efforts to all federations, groups and sections, charge the G.C. to continue its labors in that direction and postpone the final agreement to the next congress. . .

(c) A NATIONALIZED INTERNATIONAL: THE UNITED WORKERS OF AMERICA, 1874

General Rules of the Association of United Workers of America, 1874, leaflet, pp. 2, 3. Italics indicate wording identical with the General Rules of the I. W. A. as adopted in 1864. Brackets indicate wording of the Internationals omitted from that of the United Workers.

FORM OF PLEDGE. I, ——, do hereby most solemnly pledge myself to support, maintain, and propagate the principles of the "Association of United Workers of America," as set forward in the preamble to the general rules; to conform with all its regulations, and to fulfill my duties as a member to the utmost of my power. For the furtherance of the principles of the "Association of United Workers," I most solemnly disavow all alliance with existing American political parties, or with any other American political party which may be hereafter established, and which will not aim at the emancipation of labor.

GENERAL RULES of the Association of United Workers of America. *Considering, that the emancipation of the working classes must be* accomplished [conquered] *by the working classes themselves – that the struggle for their emancipation means* [not] *a struggle* [for class privileges and monopolies but] *for equal rights and duties, and the abolition of all class rule.*

That the economical subjection of the man of labor to the monopolizer of the means of labor [that is the sources of life] *lies at the bottom of servitude in all its forms, of* [all] *social misery, mental degradation and political dependence.*

That the economical emancipation of the working classes is, therefore, the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means.

That all efforts aiming at that great end have hitherto failed from the want of solidarity between the manifold

divisions of labor in each country [and from the absence of a fraternal bond of union between the working classes of different countries. That the emancipation of labour is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries in which modern society exists, and depending for its solution on the concurrence, practical and theoretical, of the most advanced countries; that the present revival of the working classes in the most industrious countries of Europe, while it raises a new hope, gives solemn warning against a relapse into the old errors, and calls for the immediate combination of the still disconnected movements.]

That the social emancipation of the working classes is inseparable from their political emancipation.

That against the collective power of the capitalist classes, the working classes cannot act as a class, except by constituting themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the capitalist classes.

That this constitution of the working class into a political party is indispensable in order to insure the triumph of the social revolution and its ultimate end – the abolition of classes.

That in the United States of America, as in all other countries, the working classes are still unemancipated and victims of class rule.

For these reasons, the Association of United Workers of America has been founded.

It declares: *that all* [societies and] *individuals adhering to it will acknowledge Truth, Justice and Morality as the basis of their conduct towards each other and towards all men without regard to color, creed or nationality.*

That it will endeavor by all possible means to facili-

tate, by mutual intercourse and exchange of thoughts and ideas, in periodical meetings, a fraternal union amongst the working classes, and this with a view to acquire and propagate a knowledge of the great social principles and aspirations, calculated to lead to and culminate in a practical solution of the mighty problem of modern society—the Emancipation of Labor.

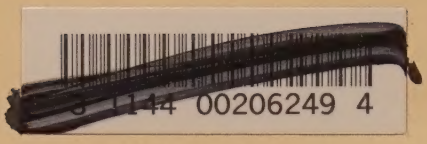
That it is the duty of all its members to support only those political movements which aim directly at the economical emancipation of the man of labor.

That it acknowledges no rights without duties—no duties without rights. And, in this spirit, the following rules have been adopted:

1st. This Association is established to afford a central medium of communication and co-operation between [Workingmen's Societies existing in different countries and aiming at the same end, viz.,] the toilers of America, and for *the protection, advancement and complete emancipation of the working classes.*

2d. *The name of the Society shall be* "The Association of United Workers of America." . .

The Central Committee: D. KRONBERG, MARTIN DOYLE, GEO. H. FORDE, D. WHOLEY, M. J. MCCLOSKEY, J. HARVEY; J. H. MONCKTON, Fin.-secretary; C. MALONE, Rec.-secretary; JOSEPH ALLEN, Treasurer; F. BOLTE, Cor.-secretary, German Language, 123 Chrystie St., N.Y. City; J. P. MCDONNELL, Cor.-secretary, English Language, 118 Smith St., Brooklyn, N.Y.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